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ABSTRACT

Proceedings of the 1982 conference of the Mid-Atlantic Women's Studies Association are presented. Synopses of sessions include the following topics: iconography of sisterhood, matriarchy, ethnic and cultural critiques, political perspectives, and nontraditional women students. Conference papers and authors are as follows: "Friends for Half a Century: The Relationship of Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Grace Channing Stetson" (Ann J. Lane); "Cygnets and Ducklings: George Eliot and the Problem of Female Community" (Linda Hunt); "Harmonious Sisters, Voice and Verse: Women and Fiction in Milton's Early Verse" (Janet E. Halley); "Women and the Scottish Enlightenment" (Esther L. Barazzone); "The Education of Germaine de Stael, or Rousseau Betrayed" (Madelyn Gutwirth); "Loyalty and Betrayal: Iseut and Brangien in the Tristan Romances of Beroul and Thomas" (Roberta L. Kreuger); "Communities of Sisters: Utopian Fiction by U.S. Women, 1970-1980" (Carol F. Kessler); "Rosa Mayreder (1858-1938), Pioneer of Austrian Feminism" (Mary-Ann Reiss); "Feminism as a Sophisticated Concept: Good News, Bad News, and Old News" (Sylvan H. Cohen); "Feminist Issues and Feminist Attitudes: Teaching Today's Students" (Paula S. Rothenberg); and "Changes in the Way Men and Women View Themselves and Each Other" (John Gormly, Anne Gormly). (SW)

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SISTERHOOD SURVEYED

Proceedings of the Mid-Alantic Women's Studies Association, 1982 Conference.

Edited by Anne Dzamba Sessa

West Chester University

1983

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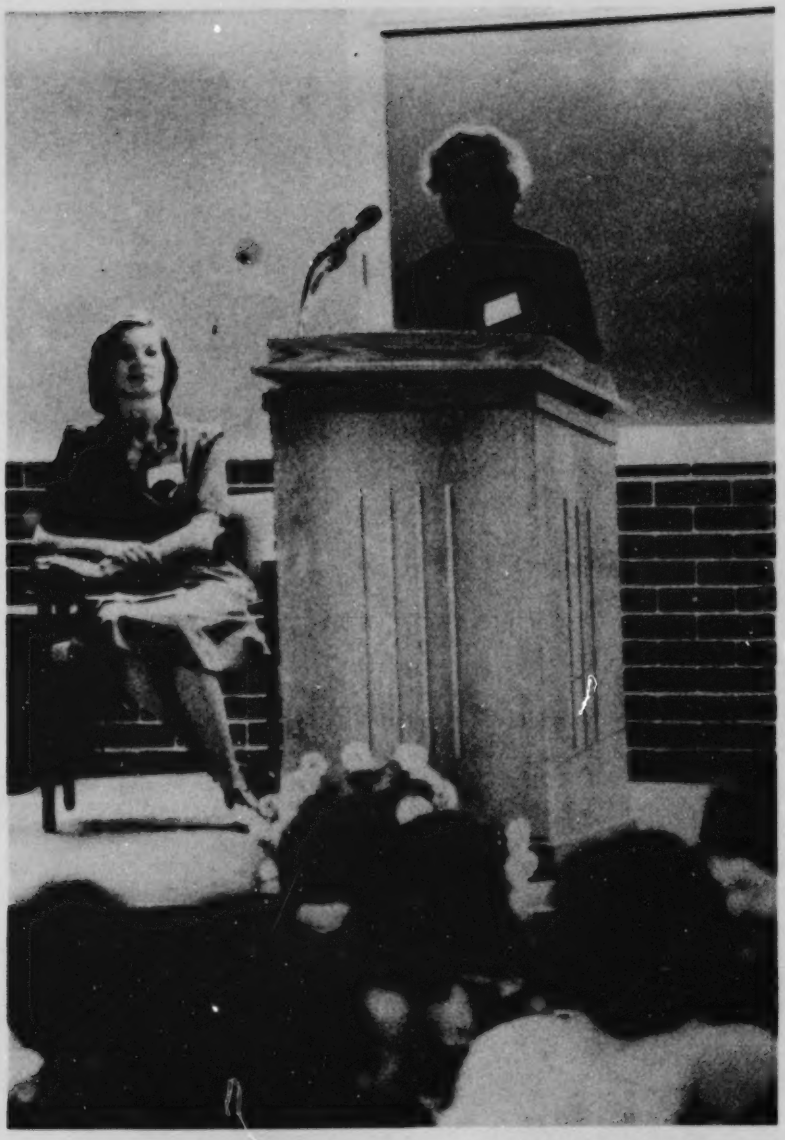

Speaker: Dr. Jessie Bernard introduced by Dr. Mary Crawford

Editor's Note

When I was growing up and attending school, I learned nothing about the women of the past or of the women's movement. There was little in the texts or in the teachers to guide me. Today there is another women's movement of which Women's Studies is a distinctive offshoot. One of the functions of Women's Studies will be to provide the continuity with the next generation I failed to find in my own by re-structuring the curriculum of our educational institutions. Thus it is necessary to document our progress and to give our research a permanent form.

On the weekend of October 1-2, 1982, the Mid-Atlantic Regional Women's Studies Association and the Women's Studies Program of West Chester State College sponsored a conference on the theme "The Meanings of Sisterhood on the Campus and in the Community." Our purpose was to bring together an audience of educators, community workers, and others interested in furthering women's education and education about women and to focus on the ways in which women see themselves as a group and on the issues and situations which may also divide them. The Conference was funded by the Pennsylvania Humanities Council; the facilities were contributed by the College. Funds to publish the Proceedings were provided by the Committee of 16 through the Human Relations Action Plan, 1982-83 at West Chester State College.

This volume contains at least one contribution from 16 of the 24 sessions. All participants were invited to submit their papers. A committee of three read the papers and recommended that certain papers be published in full and others be published in synopsis-form. How many pages we could afford to print was a primary consideration along with providing quality and variety. The editor made the final choices. We could not, of course, recapture all of the formal and informal goings-on. For instance, the dance presentation was much admired and yet could not be replicated here as was the case with panel discussions and slide presentations. Our Proceedings is but a sampler of the good work presented.

My special thanks as editor to my colleagues Mary Anne Duffy, Madelyn Gutwirth, Arlene Rengert, Mary McCullough, for their wisdom and unfailing assistance and to Ulla Fowler for her skilled and intelligent typing.

The Conference Committee consisted of the following individuals: Betty Boyle, Emma Lee Brown, Barbara Coates, Mary Crawford, Ann Diseroad, Ellen Gelches, Elizabeth Giangiulio, Madelyn Gutwirth, Joan Hasselquist, Mary Keetz, Alice Markow, Alberta McAfee, Mary McCullough, Lynette McGrath, Tahany Naggar, Arlene Rengert, Eleanor Sinclair.

Conference Coordinators were Mary Anne Burns Duffy and Anne Dzamba Sessa.

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We invite you
to participate in a conference
of educators and community workers

Who will explore
the idea and practice
of sisterhood, past and present.

Join us to hear Dr. Jessie Bernard introduce our conference theme. Dr. Bernard is a distinguished sociologist and the author of many books, the most recent of which is *The Female World,* published in 1981. Her other works include *Self Portrait of a Family,* based on 30 years of correspondence with her three children; *Women, Wives and Mothers; The Future of Motherhood; Women and the Public Interest; The Sex Game; The Future of Marriage,*

and to introduce the second day's activities Dr. Ann J. Lane, Professor of History and Director of Women's Studies, Colgate University. She will discuss aspects of the life and thought of Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Gilman is known as the author in the Progressive era classic, *Women and Economics* (1898) as well as *Herland,* a feminist utopia, and other works of social criticism and fiction.

All Programs are Free and
Open to the Public

PROGRAM
Friday, October 1, 1982

Registration: 9:30 A.M. – 3:00 P.M., Main Hall

Welcome to the College

Keynote Address: 10:30 – 11:45

Dr. Jessie Bernard speaking on "Sisterhood in the Female World"

Luncheon: 12:00 – 1:00

Sessions: 1:15 – 2:15

1. Feminine Images of God and the Bible
   Virginia Mollenkott, Hewitt, New Jersey

2. The Iconography of Sisterhood
   "Sappho and the sister arts in 18th Century painting"
   Judith Stein, Coordinator, Morris Gallery, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts

   "Woman as Hero, Artemsia Gentileschi's Judith"
   Marianne Hogue, West Chester State College

3. "The Women's Rights Convention, 1852, West Chester, Pennsylvania: staged reading"
   A Tricentennial Observance
   Directed by Saundra Hall, Script by Saundra Hall and William Morehouse
   (repeated on Saturday)

Sessions: 2:30 – 3:45

4. Sisterhood in Literature I
   "Louise Labé and the Ladies of Lyon"
   Carol S. Rupprecht, Hamilton College

   "Harmonious Sister, Voice and Verse: The Appropriation of Women and Milton's Masculine Style"
   Janet Halley, Hamilton College

   "Iseult and Brangein in the Old French Tristan Stories"
   Roberta Krueger, Hamilton College

5. The Teaching of Women in the Enlightenment
   "Women in the Scottish Enlightenment"
   Esther Barazzane, University of Pennsylvania

   "The Education of Germaine Necker, or Rousseau Betrayed"
   Madelyn Gutwirth, West Chester State College
   Convener: Linda Clark, Millersville State College

6. Developing a Sense of Women's Past
"Maryland Women's History: a Collaborative Project"
Curriculum development with community support
Virginia Beauchamp, University of Maryland
Jill Greenberg, Maryland State Commission for Women

"Elizabeth Passmore and Jean Kane Foulke: two Chester County reformers"
Lauri Rofini, Media, PA
Lynn Catanese, Oxford, PA

7. "Legacy of the Matriarchy" – Slide Show
Carol Moorefield, Women's Growth Center, Baltimore, Maryland

8. "Academic Women: Bonding and Boundaries"
Workshop: Michelle Fine, Linda Brodkey, Catherine Marshall, Bambi Schiefflin, Joan Shapiro, Kathryn Woodland, faculty of the Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania

Sessions: 4:00 – 5:30 (6:00)

9. "The Sistership of Athletes"
Panel: Jan Felshin, East Stroudsburg
Carole Oglesby, Temple University
Christine M. Walters, WEEA Project, University of Massachusetts

10. Sisterhood, Hierarchy and the Woman Question on Denominational Campuses
Panel: Claire M. Renzetti, Diane Romero, Jeanne Buckley, St. Joseph's University; Caryn Musil, Barbara Levy Simon, LaSalle College;

Convener: Arlene Dallery, LaSalle College

11. "Being a Lesbian for Part of a Day"
C-R Workshop for Non-Lesbians
Rita Adessa and Barbara Gittings
Philadelphia Lesbian and Gay Task Force

12. Feminist Teaching, Non-Feminist Students
"Building a Sense of Sisterhood in Women Students"
Workshop: Kathryn Towns, Penn State
Rie Gentzler, Penn State

13. "Psychotherapy By and For Women"
Panel of practitioners: Linda Shope, Ph.D., Annette Lynch, M.D., Leafy Pollock, Ph.D.

7:00 P.M. Cocktails – Open Bar – West Chester Inn

7:30 P.M. Dinner – West Chester Inn

8:30 P.M. Poetry Reading: Lynette McGrath and Valerie Boylan, West Chester State College
West Chester Inn

PROGRAM
Saturday, October 2, 1982

Registration: 9:00 A.M. – 2:00 P.M., Main Hall

Keynote Address: 9:30 – 10:45, Main Auditorium

Dr. Ann J. Lane, Colgate University
"Friends for Half a Century: The Relationship of Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Grace Channing Stetson"

Sessions: 11:00 – 12:30

14. Repeat Performance: "The Women's Rights Convention, 1852, West Chester, Pennsylvania: staged reading"
A Tricentennial Observance
Directed by Saundra Hall, Script by Saundra Hall and William Morehouse

15. Feminist Teaching and Today's Students

"Feminist Attitudes Among College Students: A Cross-cultural Analysis"
Irene Gittings and Janet Wilson, Stockton State College (students in Women's Studies)

"Changes in the Way Women and Men View Themselves and Others, 1971-1981"
Ann Gormley, Trenton State College

"Feminism as a Sophisticated Concept: Good News, Bad News and Old News"
Sylvan H. Cohen, Slippery Rock State College
Discussant: Paula Rothenberg, William Patterson College

16. The "Other" Sisters: Ethnic and Cross Cultural Critiques and Perspectives

"Jewish Women: Images and Realities"
Edward R. Levenson, Gratz College and Villanova University
Sue Levi Elwell, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
Doris Gold, Biblio Press, New York

"Professional Women in Different Language and Cultural Environments: A Mirror Image"
A Dialogue on Teaching in Latin and North American Cultures
Joan Fayer, University of Puerto Rico
Amalia T. Peters, West Chester State College
Convener: Tahany Naggar, West Chester State College

17. Sisterhood in Literature II

"Sisterhood in *Pride and Prejudice* and *Little Women:* The Tie That Binds?"
Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, Hamilton College

"Cygnets and Ducklings: George Eliot and the Problem of Female Community"
Linda Hunt, Hocking Technical College

"The Subversion of Sisterhood in Tennyson's *The Princess*"
Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Boston University

Luncheon: 12:30 – 2:00 and Business Meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Women's Studies Association

Sessions: 2:15 – 3:45

18. "Selfhood and Sisterhood: A Revelation Through Dance"
Panel in motion: Edrie Ferdun, Temple University, Coordinator

19. Worlds Women Want (45 min.)

"Visions of Community in the Writing of American Women, 1870-1980"
Sally Mitchell, Temple University
Carol Farley Kessler, Pennsylvania State Univ.

20. Women in Organized Religion (45 min.)
Workshop: Deborah Shapiro, Havertown, PA

21. Feminism and the Minority Woman
Panel: T. E. Scott-Myers, West Chester State College, Portia Hunt, Temple University, TBA

22. Women's Studies Outreach in the Community

Panel: "Exploring Feminism Through Community-Based Education"
The Community Women's Education Project
Convener: Judy Lashoff
Marge Graham, Shelly McWhorter, Linda Backiel, Janet Lombardo, Lutheran Settlement House, Philadelphia, PA

"An Alternative Look at Working-Class Women as Learners"
Wendy Luttrell, Lutheran Settlement House, Philadelphia, PA

Sessions: 4:00 – 5:30 (6:00)

23. Political Perspectives on Sisterhood

"The Feminist Movement Now in England and the United States: A Comparison"
Joyce Gelb, City College (CUNY)

"American Feminists' Response to European Anti-Semitism in the 1930's: A Study in Female Network"
Elinor Lerner, Stockton State

"Resistance to the British Suffrage Movement: Shirking Sisterhood"
Caryn McTighe Musil, LaSalle College

"Rosa Mayreder (1858-1938) Austrian Pioneer of Feminism"
Mary Ann Reiss, West Chester State College
Discussant: Anne Sessa, West Chester State College

24. Organizing for Success in College and Careers Among Non-Traditional Women Students
Panel: Marilyn Berman, University of Maryland, Elizabeth Gianguilio, West Chester State College, Joan Hasselquist, West Chester State College

25. Restructuring the Academic Community

"The Androgynous Style: An Alternative for More Effective Communication Between Women and Men"
Kathleen Ansell, Edinboro State College

"Establishing a Statewide Network: The Pennsylvania State College and University Women's Consortium"
Mary Keetz, West Chester State College

"Connections: Librarians in the Feminist Network"
Laura Shepard, University of Delaware

"The Graduate Women's Alliance of Rutgers University"
Alliance representatives
Discussant: Jean Dowdall, Dean of Arts and Sciences, West Chester State College

A grant in partial support of this conference was made by the Pennsylvania Humanities Council. Also supporting the conference is the Human Relations Committee of Sixteen, West Chester State College.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Friends for Half a Century: The Relationship of Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Grace Channing Stetson.

Ann J. Lane.

In trying to write a book, it is often the first sentence that is hardest. But in the biography of Charlotte Perkins Gilman that I am immersed in, I had no trouble coming up with the opening line: This is the story of my Charlotte.

The shape I am giving to her life conforms with whatever is known about her, but the quality of her personality and the nature of her work--and the relationship between the two--come out of me, as much as out of her. Biography is, perhaps more than any other genre, an inevitable dialogue between subject and author.

In the case of my Charlotte, one of the most compelling aspects of her life is the organic connection between how she lived and what she wrote. In a real sense everything we do is part of us. We are our work. But in Charlotte's case, the connection is central and it is clear.

Here I am rambling and I have barely begun. Let me begin again in a more sensible way, with a brief introduction of this woman for those of you unfamiliar with her.

Charlotte Anna Perkins was born in Hartford, Conn. on July 3, 1860. She was raised by her mother, Mary A. Fitch. Her father, Frederic Beecher Perkins, grandson of the famous theologian, Lyman Beecher, nephew of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, was a man-of-letters, scholar, librarian. He left his wife and children (there was an older child, Thomas) immediately after Charlotte's birth, and thereafter provided little support, emotional or financial to his family. His wife, Mary, Charlotte's mother, living in poverty and isolation, frequently moving from relative to relative, with children in tow, led a bitter and unhappy life.

Charlotte grew up in an unloving, cheerless, emotionally deprived environment. She made frequent overtures to her father, to which he barely responded, remaining always a remote and ungiving figure. Her mother, Mary, chose to define herself as a rejected and abandoned wife, who, in certain ways, exacted the price for that rejection from her children.

In her early adolescence, Charlotte developed a close relationship with a girl her age, Martha Luther. It was in letters to Martha, critical ones during the summer of her 21st year, when Martha was vacationing away from Providence, that Charlotte articulated her tension over what to do with her life: should she do work in the world, using gifts in some way she knew she had but not what they were, be like her father, like men; or live in a woman's world, seeking what her mother had sought, husband and children, love and security. Neither model was attractive, and she agonized in written word over these two polar choices. She concluded that she would opt for a public life, finding love and solace in community with Martha. Unhappily for Charlotte, Martha did not share her vision, and dealt her a grievous blow that summer by meeting the man she wanted to marry, and did the following year. Charlotte fought her head on, challenging the character of the man, struggling desperately to keep Martha unwed and hers alone, but she lost and she was heartbroken.

Soon after, Charlotte met Walter Stetson, a struggling local artist, something of a bohemian. He proposed almost immediately, she refused without hesitation, and he pursued relentlessly for two years. She ultimately agreed, but with great reluctance, to the very end, to marry Walter. In the meantime she was beginning to do some writing and earning something of a living designing greeting cards. They

married, she collapsed into a depression, she became pregnant, the depression worsened, the baby, Katharine was born, and she fell apart. She could barely move.

On doctor's advice she went to Pasadena, California, to visit her now very close friend, Grace Ellery Channing, and her family. The family was as important as Grace. It was a warm, accepting, intellectually stimulating and liberal household, where she was a loved daughter, not a responsible wife and mother. The depression lifted, she returned home "cured," only to collapse again.

Ultimately she agreed to see Dr. Silas Weir Mitchell, creator of the famous 'Rest Cure,' a specialist in women's nervous diseases. After three months of treatment, in his sanitarium, mostly rest and isolation, he pronounced her cured, sent her home with the following instructions. Never, never have your baby leave your side. Never lift paintbrush to canvas or pen to paper again. Never read for more than two hours a day. Focus your energies on caring for husband and child. She tried it and almost went completely crazy.

Then, gathering strength from somewhere within her, she left her husband and went back to California, this time with her child, to put her life together.

Walter followed, hoping for a reconciliation, which failed. He left after a year, and soon after they were divorced. Walter immediately remarried--Grace Ellery Channing, Charlotte's best friend. The three remained cordial throughout their lives. Soon after Walter and Grace married, Charlotte's baby, now a little girl, went to live with her father and stepmother, whom she knew well and loved.

Charlotte was pilloried for her behavior. She was seen as a dreadful person first, for divorcing a perfectly nice man for no real reason, and then, really unforgivable, she gave up her child. She was an unnatural mother. She rejected the entire definition of woman in late 19th century America.

Charlotte looked again during this period to a woman for support, Adeline Knapp, whom she calls Dora in her autobiography. It was an intense, nasty, relationship, and it ended with bitterness and rage on both parts. During the time with Adeline, Charlotte's mother came to live with her, soon diagnosed as suffering from cancer. Mary stayed with Charlotte and died in her home.

Then it was suddenly all changed. Katharine left to live with Walter and Grace. Mary Fitch, Charlotte's mother, was dead. Relationship with Adeline finally severed. Charlotte was alone and on her own, by now with a growing reputation as a lecturer, writer, socialist-humanist-feminist. She had published The Yellow Wallpaper, a short story about a young mother's descent into madness because she followed Weir Mitchell's instructions.

Charlotte then took to the road, a feminist-at-large, homeless, rootless, finally fully responsible for herself and only herself. In this period, from 1895-1900, two enormous changes occured in her life. 1. Publication of Women and Economics, in 1898, which made her an international figure. 2. A courtship, carried out mostly through letters, with her cousin, George Houghton Gilman, who in 1900 became her second husband.

Charlotte's career took off. In 1900 she published Concerning Children. In 1903, The Home: Its Work and Influence. 1904, Human Work, which she considered her best book. 1911, Man-Made World: Or Our Androcentric Culture. 1923, His Religion and Hers, A Study of the Faith of Our Fathers and the Work of Our Mothers.

From 1909-1917 she published a 32 page monthly magazine, The Forerunner, writing every line of copy herself. Each year two books were serialized, the full run of [illegible] equaling in pages 28 full-length books. Three novels serialized in

The Forerunner were later published separately: What Diantha Did, 1910; The Crux, 1911; and Moving the Mountain, 1912. Herland, a feminist utopian novel, brought out in 1979.

In 1935 she finished her autobiography, The Living of Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

Charlotte and Houghton lived very happily, I think, for 3¼ years, until he died suddenly of a stroke. By this time Charlotte knew she had cancer. After her husband's death she moved back to Pasadena, near and then with her daughter, Katharine, herself now wife and mother. As the end neared, Grace Channing, now also a widow, joined her, Charlotte, Grace and Katharine together, staying until Charlotte's suicide in the summer of 1935.

What I would like to focus on today is the relationship between Charlotte and Grace, because it is quite an extraordinary friendship.

Charlotte and Grace became friends when they were barely out of girlhood. Their friendship grew into love, and it is captured in their correspondence of more than 50 years, which reflects how their closeness was able to change through the years and thereby endure.

When Charlotte was 24 years old, just before her marriage to Walter, she wrote an astonishing letter to Grace. She tells her what a "balm to my soul" it is that her dear friend approves of her marriage partner.

> It is a constant source of shame to me that I should suffer under the adverse opinions of those about me concerning my lover. I know the opinions to be unfounded, ill founded, unwise, unfair, ignorant, short-sighted, etc., etc., but for all that it does have an effect on me--fairly makes me think less of him!
>
> Which being the case you can see what a comfort it is to have some person whose judgment has weight with me look favorably on the man of my--choice? Hardly. I had no choice really, there was no other, the man of my acceptance say.

Whatever Walter's flaws, Charlotte's response is perplexing. She did not think less of her friends, she thought less of Walter. And whatever her reservations, they did not prevent Charlotte from marrying Walter the following May. And she did not hide her reservations from Grace, her confidante. Charlotte seemed unable to raise many important issues with Walter. One has the sense that this young couple had no insight into each other's hearts or minds. They did not seem to know much about the workings of the other.

Then the depression, trip to California, during which time Charlotte seemed to be healed, return, Mitchell, decision to leave.

In the summer of 1888, as Charlotte and Walter were about to separate, Grace came east to be with her friend. They spent part of the summer vacationing in Rhode Island, and collaborating on a feminist drawing-room comedy of marriage and morals, "A Pretty Idiot," then they returned and with Walter, dismantled the Stetson home. Early October, Grace, Charlotte and little Katharine set out for Pasadena. Charlotte had ten dollars. When friends asked her what she would do when she got to California, she answered, "I shall earn my own living."

Charlotte Perkins Stetson had lived with her mother until she married at 24 and then she lived with her husband. Now, at the age of 28, for the first time she is striking out alone, with the responsibility of caring for a child she has demonstrated no ability to care for. With little money, a few friends to bail her out in

emergencies, not a great deal in the way of marketable skills, she set out to recreate her life. She rejected the conventional wisdom of the day, the most advanced psychiatric advice, her husband, her mother; she trusted herself enough. She knew she could accomplish a great deal, if only she could structure her life to allow her gifts to blossom. In Pasadena she began that reconstruction.

When Walter arrived Christmastime in 1888, the Channings offered him a room in their house as a studio. When he left a year later he and Charlotte had separated finally, and Walter and Grace had established a new relationship with each other, one which had an extraordinary impact on Charlotte, but not the impact one would have thought.

One can only conjecture how the scenario must have read as these three people rearranged themselves in the course of that year. One wonders how Charlotte managed to deal with Walter's and Grace's growing affection, since it was to Grace that Charlotte turned for support and nurturance.

One thing Charlotte did was to reawaken a correspondence with Martha. It is as if Charlotte needed someone to be hers alone, so she turned again to nostalgic memories of Martha. She also wrote to Martha about Grace. "Grace Channing pulled me out of living death, set me on my staggering feet, helped me to get to work again, did more than I can say to make me live, and I love her, I think, as well as any one on earth."

Charlotte felt much alone during this period when she was ending a marriage, starting anew, finding the needed friend not altogether available to her. It is understandable why she should turn again to Martha.

How do we explain Walter? He met Charlotte years before, proposed after 17 days and then pursued her until she reluctantly married him. Walter, with his traditional notions of marriage, probably never did quite understand what Charlotte was all about. Perhaps he mistook the reservations for conventional girlish behavior, which it was his job to overcome with ardor and persistence. And when Charlotte collapsed after the marriage, he probably did not know what had gone wrong.

But if Charlotte did not want him, Grace did. It was Grace who extended herself in Pasadena, who provided companionship. It was Grace who ultimately proved to be the more suitable partner, for the self-effacing qualities of character fit Walter's needs more closely than Charlotte's tangled web of dependence and assertion, the personality so strong and agile one day and so depressed, withdrawn and incompetent the next. Grace was calm, predictable, accommodating.

And what of Grace--the third in the triangle? Grace was Charlotte's one friend who approved of Walter way back in the courting days. How did she see herself in this situation with her best friend and the estranged husband? Grace was the one Charlotte turned to. When Walter left Pasadena after a year Charlotte didn't much care. But when Grace returned East, Charlotte said: "Grace has left me."

What was going on inside Grace while she was supporting and holding up the estranged wife at the same time she is being wooed, however subtly, by the estranged husband living under her roof. Under the calm, tranquil exterior, what raged in her. I do not believe that Grace ever was able to open up to Charlotte about her strain between loyalty to the woman and attraction to the man. It is the hidden, denied, unexamined state of things that could only have made the three of them intensely uncomfortable, and two of the three, Grace most of all, feel deceitful.

Walter, rejected by the wife, strikes at her by appealing to her best friend. Grace, the best friend, long attracted to the husband, allows herself to behave in a way that betrays the trust of her friend. Charlotte both pleased and a little guilty

at feeling so good as this marriage ended, sees and doesn't see her friend won over by the rejected husband. It has the makings of a 19th century comic opera or a 20th century swinging story, *but it is neither.* It is a painful, tormented triangular dance of betrayal and guilt and power and love, the most insidious for not being acknowledged openly by any of the participants. It is not their way, any of them, to talk directly.

Charlotte and Grace were both creative, energetic, ambitious young women. Grace too had ambitions for public life. She taught in one of the pioneering kindergardens in Providence. She wrote persistently, publishing a small body of stories and poems, but most of her creative work is in boxes, 35 of them, in manuscript form, unpublished. Her primary sense of self came from being wife and stepmother, caring for others, nurturing others, not just Walter and Katharine but an alcoholic, impoverished brother - and, of course, Charlotte.

There is no way of knowing how that courtship between Walter and Grace was carried on. Charlotte's response to the news of their impending marriage came in what is the most astonishing letter I have come across of hers.

> Do you know I think I suffer more in giving you up than Walter--for you were all joy to me. And it was not till things were well underway that that side of the arrangement dawned on me. I know I was gradually getting very near to you, and now that dreadful angel has come and swallowed you and I am nowhere! It is awful to be a man inside and not able to marry the women you love! When Martha married it cracked my heart a good deal--your loss will finish it.
>
> .... I think of you with a great howlin' selfish heartache.
> I want you--I love you--I need you myself!....
>
> So your clairvoyance has seen through my mask of joy has it. I don't care a bit, because I can gladly assert that Walter hasn't!.... he doesn't dream of anything
>
> I haven't said a word to him about the new internal discoveries--
> I fear it would worry him seriously, and there is no need.
> It is only a temporary matter.

This is a remarkable document. In it Charlotte unhesitatingly proclaims her love for Grace. "I want you--I love you--I need you myself!

Grace's marriage translates into Charlotte's loss. It is a letter that deals mostly with Charlotte's fear of loss. What is it that she wants of Grace? Nothing, except to know. It is a wail, a statement of fear, a fear of loss. It is as if Grace and Martha matter most at the moment when Charlotte realizes she will lose them. It is not that she wants to share her life with Grace, marry her. It is that Charlotte could not imagine having to share her love with another. She could not bear to have Grace share her love with another.

Charlotte says that Walter will marry her, swallow her up, and "I am nowhere." Marriage does not have to swallow, cause one to disappear. Marriage did swallow up Mary Fitch in a most terrible way by changing her and denying her. Marriage did swallow up Charlotte by keeping her from doing what she wanted.

What marriage did accomplish was to remove Grace sexually from Charlotte. But there is no indication, there is all to the contrary, that however erotic the language Charlotte employed, whatever sexual feelings she may have had toward Grace, they remained unacknowledged and unexplored. After all Charlotte apparently did not express these loving sentiments to Grace, or to Martha before her, when she was in

daily contact with them. Perhaps those fears of abandonment, reawakened from buried childhood memories, rear up at critical, dangerous moments, triggered off by desertion of loved friends in marriage.

And what did Charlotte mean: It is awful to be a man inside and not be able to marry the women you love?

It is important not to put labels on Charlotte. She loved Martha and Walter and Grace, and later Adeline and Houghton, in different ways and with different intensities. She did not reject or despise any feelings of love, nor did she necessarily act on them in ways that such language might suggest to readers today.

In Lillian Faderman's book, Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present, she argues persuasively that in the time before the sex drive was identified as central, in woman as well as in men, love and sex were not seen as inherently connected. Love, passionate, enduring, genuine love between women, could be articulated comfortably because it did not necessarily have a sexual meaning. Thus, it was possible for Charlotte to have unacknowledged sexual feelings for Grace and freely express them. She did have some sense of the implication of her words, because, she said, she did not want to worry Walter about her feelings, since they were temporary. She knew and she didn't know. She blurted out her feelings once to Grace and then apparently never again.

The concept of being trapped in the wrong body, the phrase itself, has a long history. Transsexuals today and their earlier counterparts, Federman says, often felt they were trapped in the wrong bodies. The assumption underlying such a notion must be that there is an inherent masculine and feminine feeling and behavior. Thus a woman who loves a woman is a man.

In Charlotte's case I think it meant more that she wanted to do what men do--that is be a public person; thus, she is a man to her then-alienated self. Ultimately Charlotte came to believe that there was no masculine or feminine feeling, or behavior, except that linked directly to childbirth, in the case of women, or aggressive sexuality, in the case of men. Otherwise we are human. But at this point in her life she was grappling, suffering, plagued by a world that locks people in by gender and provides no space for those who do not fit.

Mary Wollestoncraft saw her passionate feelings for her friend, Fanny, as something akin to that of a husband, according to one biographer. In Olive Schreiner's novel, From Man to Man, Rebekah muses:

> How nice it would be to be a man. She fancied she was one till she felt her very body grow strong and hard and shaped like a man's. She felt great freedom opened to her, no place shut off from her, the long chain broken, all work possible.

Charlotte herself later wrote a short story, "If I Were a Man," in which Mollie Mathewson finds herself turned into her husband, Gerald; she delights in the largeness of her size, the comfortable clothing, the sensible shoes, the power that comes from earning one's own living. Contemporary writer, Del Martin, recalls that when she played house as a child she chose the role of husband not because she wanted to be a man sexually, but because maleness meant being free to do what one chooses and femaleness meant having limitations.

Charlotte was suffocating. Her wanting to be a man I think is a metaphor for wanting fresh air. Marriage would stifle. It stifled her mother. It stifled her. It took away Martha and now Grace. It is women who lose in marriage.

The declaration of love for Grace was never repeated in the same way, as far as

I can tell, but their relationship evolved into a lifelong mutual affection between two remarkable women who loved and respected each other and who chose to ignore the inevitable tensions in their difficult situation.

Charlotte did not allow Grace's marriage to estrange them. On the contrary, she used the connection to forge a deeper bond between them. Charlotte gave Grace the gift that bound them permanently, the gift of Katharine. By that act, it is true, Charlotte freed herself from daily domestic responsibilities, responsibilities that she had great difficulty managing. It was an act that also tied Charlotte permanently to a deep sense of mother guilt, a guilt from which she was never able to extricate herself, a message of guilt that she passed on to Katharine, who went to her death, a few years ago, with the sense of having been abandoned and denied by her mother. And yet it was a wise decision. Grace was the more nurturing of the two women, the one who could better mother little Katharine.

The triangle--Charlotte, Walter, Grace--scandalized many of their generation. Even today there are speculations as to the 'real' meaning behind that friendship. I think the triangle was a different configuration: Charlotte, Grace and Katharine, the two women and the girl-child they shared, for with that gift of Katharine, Grace became not only mother to the child, but she became mother to the mother as well.

In her relationship with Grace, Charlotte sought and found, for the first time I think, a person who gave her much, if not all, of what she asked. Grace possessed the nurturing, caretaking qualities, the mothering qualities, Charlotte yearned for and never got from mother, father, Martha or Walter. She was later to get similar yearnings satisfied with Houghton.

The intimacy between Charlotte and Grace moved from being girlhood friends to woman-friends, to two mothers, jointly rearing a loved child. Although there were occasional signs of the inevitable strain, their relationship deepened with the years.

Charlotte writes to Grace: Katharine says I am the best mom in the world...well--next to Grace--she loves me next best. That is well. However I entertain a treacherous hope that someday you may be cross or something and then she will love me best! Do be a little wicked, dear, can't you?

Charlotte's feeble efforts at wry and wistful humor only barely cover the loss and pain she felt at being replaced.

The pain of the loss of Katharine never stops.

> You really are a better mother by nature and training than I could ever be....Some day (Kate) will count it as one of her chiefest blessings.

Charlotte's gratitude to Grace is also unending. She often concludes her letters to Grace with phrases such as "With love always dear Mother of my child."

> I know she is in all ways better off with you now. But sometimes it gets out....pure selfish longing....I can't afford to ache....Dear, I think if you could see how patiently I try to carry my patch and cracked and leaky vessel of life....We all do what we can.

Charlotte also was forever sending Grace her work to be criticized, although she is then irked when Grace criticizes it. And Charlotte persistently points to how well she is using the freedom that Grace provided her with.

Walter Stetson died in 1911. Grace's ill health, family troubles, desperate financial situation, meant years of struggle and discomfort. Charlotte and Houghton ceaselessly extended themselves to her in every way possible.

In 1929 when Charlotte was 69 and Grace was 66, Charlotte could still repeat to her friend:

> you've never done anything but shower around your unselfish devotion, bottomless generosity, exquisite sympathy and understanding....it is good for me to have someone to honestly look up to.

Their long and loving relationship was a crucial anchor in Charlotte's life. Grace Ellery Channing Stetson was with her friend Charlotte Anna Perkins Stetson Gilman during the last days of Charlotte's life, and so we have no written record of what transpired between them.

But a few month before she died, Charlotte wrote to her friend, and these few words sum up one of the two central relationships in Charlotte's life:

> It has been an honor to be your friend, dear Grace. And I have loved you a long time--some 56 or 7 years, isn't it?

SYNOPSES

From Session 2: The Iconography of Sisterhood

Synopsis: On the Road with Sappho to Leucadia.

Judith Stein.

While "sapphism" has been synonymous with female homosexuality for centuries, the iconography of Sappho has not. Since antiquity, a tangle of literary and mythological traditions has obscured the scant historical data extant, and the artists and writers attracted to Sappho as both author and subject have either denied or exploited her reputation as the original lesbian. Celebrated as the "tenth Muse," "the poetess," as Homer was "the poet," and as the "child of Aphrodite and Eros," Sappho, Byron's "sage bluestocking," was apotheosized as the greatest female writer of all time. Her poetry, quintessentially sublime, was known only in fragments. Her description of the effects of love was so graphic, Plutarch recorded, that the physician of Antiochus deduced the youth's love for Stratonice because his symptoms matched those of Sappho's poem (LP31). Although her translators habitually switched the sex of the personal pronouns from she to he, the scholarly John Addison noted in 1735 that passion was "too violent in her to be restrained even to one sex." Concurrent with the use of her name as an accolade of female literary genius, was the connotation in other contexts, of "Sappho" as an unbridled voluptuary and/or female homosexual.

Gros' 1801 image of a suicidal Sappho poised high above the sea on the cliffs of Leucadia is based on an ancient literary tradition of unrequited heterosexual love that was already old when Ovid gave it fresh life in his imaginary Epistle from Sappho to Phaon. (At one time, Titian's Sacred and Profane Love was thought to represent a Naiad counselling Sappho to find her way to the Leucadian cliffs to take the hydrotropic cure.) Sappho enjoyed wide popularity as subject matter for conjectural fiction and as the author of love poetry in the late eighteenth century, a period which has been shown to have especially favored erotic and amatory imagery. In 1780 Alessandro Verri published his biographic fantasy, Le Avventure di Saffo, which he serendipitously "unearthed." A duality of allusions emerged as other "admirers" composed and illustrated such salacious works as Anandria, ou Confessions de Mademoiselle Sapho. Prodded by the continuing libertine use of her name, J. F. Welcker wrote a defense of her chastity--Sappho von einem herrschenden Vorurteil befreit in 1816.

Artists such as Fragonard, Kauffmann and David, attracted by Sappho's status as a classical heroine and love poet, tended to portray her in the act of writing, with Eros as her muse. Others, for example, Cipriani, Gros and Westall, concentrated on the emotional moments just preceding her leap. After tracing these neoclassic and romantic directions, this paper will focus on two substantial print series: Henry Tresham's folio, Le Avventure di Saffo of 1784, with captions from Verri's novel; and Girodet's drawings engraved by Chatillon and published posthumously in 1829, accompanied by the artist's translations of her poems.

From Session 6: Developing a Sense of Women's Past.

Synopsis: The Maryland Women's History Week Project.

Virginia Beauchamp and Jill Greenberg.

When the planning committee for Maryland's first Women's History Week Project sat down together, the 8th of March--International Women's Day--was not far away. The week in which it fell--Women's History Week--was the target period for a new effort in the schools of Maryland to include women's history throughout the curriculum. Simultaneously efforts would be made through local commissions for women and women's organizations to stimulate community activities in celebration of Women's History Week and to enlist participation by public libraries. Impetus for the project came originally from the State Commission for Women, inspired by similar celebrations held since 1978 in 14 other states. (In the summer of 1980 the Sonoma County Women's Support Network in California began a nationwide effort to expand the celebration, preparing a carefully scheduled set of procedures and activities and offering free for duplication an attractive logo.)

The Maryland group, whose organizing meeting was held in early December 1980, planned to design a project so carefully focused that it could be completed and distributed to participating teachers well ahead of the week of celebration. The State Superintendent of Schools, David W. Hornbeck, had already given his endorsement of the enterprise, including authorization for use of supporting resources, such as released time of a staff artist, photocopying service, and an educational equity specialist in the Department's Office of Equal Opportunity. Members of the 1981 project group included specialists in public information, library services and public library liaison, media services, curriculum and instructional programs, members of the Commission for Women, and university scholars familiar with Maryland history and women's studies.

Fourth grades throughout the state were the target audience for the 1981 project, because in the fourth grade students learn about their own state and because materials could be adapted for higher or lower grades from that level. If information about Maryland women were easily available, the planning group felt that teachers would be encouraged to use it. With the help of a staff artist, single-page illustrated biographies of 12 noteworthy Maryland women were prepared--from Margaret Brent, 17th-century lawyer, land-holder, and acting governor, to slave leader Harriet Tubman. A thirteenth profile gave recognition to Maryland's "unsung" heroines. In addition, a list of speakers knowledgeable on women's issues and classified by topic was distributed. The entire project was executed in 12 weeks, including Christmas/Chanukah holiday time. Cash expenditures were limited to $500. Many hours of volunteer time and "in-kind" services, however, made possible the eventual distribution of 7000 brochures, 6000 posters, and 2100 school packets, as well as extensive publicity in the news media.

With more lead time the following year, the committee was able to produce a more elaborate resource packet for 1982. Instead of focusing on famous women, it features women's contributions in several historical periods--colonial Maryland, the 19th century, the progressive era, the period of the depression, and the present. Activities for elementary and secondary students are suggested for various subject areas--literature, mathematics, foreign languages, music, science and labor (vocational education), as well as physical education, sports, and dance. Bibliographies and a speakers' list are also provided. The 1983 packet focuses on minority women, members of the many ethnic groups who have contributed to Maryland's diverse cultural mosaic.

In both 1982 and 1983, through Maryland Instructional Television, a division of the State Department of Education, half-hour videotapes have been developed under the general title "Women in the Active Voice." Using a talk-show format, both films are hosted by Washington TV news personality Lark McCarthy. The 1982 film, which is framed by an "interview" with colonial administrator Margaret Brent, portrayed by an actress, features ballet dancer Amanda McKerrow, youthful engineer and sports figure Laura Lemire, and early suffragist and lawyer Jeanette Wolman. The 1983 film, subtitled "A Changing Mosaic," features conversations with women from four ethnic backgrounds--Hispanic, European ethnic (Greek), Asian, and Black. The women provide role models ranging from slave ancestry and the underground railroad to recent immigration from Vietnam and to non-traditional work as a carpenter in the new Baltimore Harbor Tunnel. Projected for 1984 is a film exploring women's lives in the different geographical regions of the state and focusing particularly on oral history as a research resource available to communities, scholars, and families.

Copies of the 1981, 1982, and 1983 packets are available through the Office of Equal Opportunity, Maryland State Department of Education, 200 West Baltimore St., Baltimore, MD 21201. Phone: (301) 659-2239. For information concerning the films, available also in videocassettes, write to Maryland Instructional Television, Maryland State Department of Education, 11767 Bonita Ave., Owings Mills, MD 21117. Phone: (301) 356-5600. The address of the National Women's History Week Project is Box 3716, Santa Rosa, CA 95402. Phone: (707) 526-5974.

The Women's History Week Project has come about only because national, state, and local networks of women, including lay persons, community leaders, scholars, and researchers, have learned to combine their resources and expertise, thus enriching the lives of all our children and ourselves. Even more importantly, the project has broadened our perception of curricular content and what we have earlier been taught to see as history.

From Session 7.

Synopsis: Legacy of the Matriarchy.

Carol Moorefield and Kathleen Valentine.

(The following is a synopsis of theories presented in a workshop on October 1, 1982. The workshop itself was a slide show; the images and specific research presented are not summarized below because of lack of space. The slide show was a "tour" of ancient Goddess figurines from every area of the world. Emphasis was placed on relatively unknown Goddesses as opposed to the Western Classical Goddesses known to most students.)

In Legacy of the Matriarchy we present evidence that the earliest cultures in virtually every area of the world were matriarchal. Additionally, we introduce our theories of life within ancient societies where women enjoyed a very different role than that of women in the modern Western World. It is our hope that this workshop will encourage other women to research our matriarchal roots on their own; so that they too may share the information gleaned. For, knowledge is power, and the more knowledge we, as women, have about our true origins, the greater our self concept and our subsequent ability to direct and change our own lives.

We define Matriarchy as a society whose theological structure is headed by a Female Deity; who is seen as creator, life giver, and controlling force in the Universe. (1) Our Matriarchal Ancestors saw themselves as having an intimate connection (being one with) the Earth, surrounding Universe, and the premordial Diety. Matriarchal Societies focused on living in harmony with nature; therefore, animals, trees, rocks, stars, and moon were used cross culturally as symbols to represent that the Goddess resides in all things. Reincarnation was and is invariably a part of Matriarchal Religion; and this cyclic concept of life sets the tone for our interpretation of Matriarchal symbolism,

The "science" of ancient matriarchal peoples included a study of magic and psychic phenomenon in order to enhance every day life. It must be remembered that "magic" refers to unexplained phenomena and, to ancients, these may have included control of birth, agriculture and even weather (e.g. rainmaking). Women, as child bearers, were often seen as the key to this "magic" and were thus elevated to an esteemed status as the representatives of the Goddess on Earth.

In addition to their position as child bearers, our research has shown that in many ancient societies women also introduced "miraculous" gifts of civilization, such as crafts, agriculture, animal husbandry, language, and writing, as well as cities, to the human race. Evidence indicates that the role of women in society was/is linked to the role of the Goddess. As Goddess worship faded, or was destroyed, so the role of women declined in each respective society. Consequently, much of the slide show illustrates the "legacy" (that which was handed down to subsequent societies) from our ancient Matriarchal Foremothers. Much of the ancient Matriarchal symbolism and thought still exists in some form today and is available for women to reclaim. However, there is also much that was destroyed when Patriarchal groups invaded Matriarchal territories; and will require much research, and some literal digging, to unearth.

This leads us to our final premise presented in the workshop; the need for a feminist interpretation of archaeological evidence. As we bagan to examine the images we collected for the slide show, we realized the ambiguity of the anthropological interpretation attributed to them. Often archaeological finds were grossly mislabeled

(such as labeling a clearly female figure as a "god" or "king"); or belittled (Goddesses became "cult objects" or "fertility figures"). Additionally, most sources showed an ingrained male bias towards the concept of male supremacy; even in societies where it was clear women dominated. We presented our images with a feminist perspective; while advocating that other women do the same in their research. We also suggested a reevaluation of research techniques currently in favor; advocating that women trust, then document, their intuition in pursuing evidence. In particular, we illustrated how an examination of the images themselves; together with an elimination of male bias, can lead to an entirely different interpretation of the same evidence.

These images, created by women (our Foremothers), were left to us as symbolic messages of our past. It is our task to unravel the messages in order to fully inherit our Legacy, and eventually reclaim our rightful place in the world.

1. Our definition is similar to that presented by Merlin Stone in <u>When God was a Woman</u>, however, we have expanded her concept to include a theological philosophy.

From Session 10: Sisterhood, Hierarchy and the Woman Question on Denominational Campuses.

Synopsis: "Women's Studies: Shuffling Through the System" - La Salle College.

Caryn McTighe Musil.

In my section of the panel I was responsible for making a brief summary of the history of our Women's Studies Concentration from our first course in the spring of 1973 to our gaining formal approval for a new academic program in May, 1981. In assessing our success I looked at ways we chose to acknowledge the hierarchy of the college and follow its rules and procedures along the way, how interwoven our growth was to our student women's center and the women's movement nationally, and how the religious context of La Salle actually worked in our favor. I then discussed some disturbing reasons why I thought we had been successful: the program cost them nothing; the faculty was already there to teach courses so they need not make any real commitment to women's studies: the program seemed peripheral and therefore not a threat to the existing curriculum; we are identified as an academic rather than an activist program at La Salle.

Synopsis: Sisterhood and Hierarchy at La Salle College.

Arleen B. Dallery.

Juanita Williams, as quoted by Marilyn Boxer in Signs, claims that Women's Studies programs have emerged in idiosyncratic forms on several campuses; they have not, however, seriously weakened hierarchical academic institutions; yet, they should be the academic arm of Woman's Liberation, creating a transformation of society. In my analysis of Women's Studies at La Salle, I argued that we have fit into, manipulated, and partially transformed these institutional structures, while our political impact on larger community is still to be realized.

Our Women's Studies program fit into an existing academic unit, a concentration or minor, but we were unique in being administered by a four-member Steering Committee and in demanding not only equality or parity with other concentrations (e.g. Urban Studies) but also preferential treatment. We succeeded in waiving the curriculum rule, exclusively for Women's Studies, that a department could only offer one special-topics course each semester. As a concentration we have some autonomy in reviewing courses and instructors, in setting student requirements, but we are dependent on the charity of departments and chairpersons to hire qualified instructors and to introduce new women's studies courses. In conformity with the principle of hierarchy and individual rule, one of us is now the "official" director of the program. The Steering Committee still demonstrates a different paradigm of collective leadership of a program.

Given shrinking enrollments and declining budgets, I outlined potential power conflicts between chairpersons and the Women's Studies program where our autonomy would be severely compromised.

I discussed our political impact on campus through our alliances with the Woman's Caucus, a Faculty Progressive Group, Continuing Education for Women, and Urban Studies. To some extent, the Woman's Caucus is the political arm of the Women's Studies program, but its efforts are hobbled by fragmented interests, sporadic membership, rotating conveners, and lack of accountability. It has sought to

advance women into key power positions and to promote the welfare and visibility of women on campus. Through outreach to the many political women's groups in the area, of which we are also members, we intend to make common cause with them and the larger community of non-academic women.

Synopsis: Consorting and Cooperating: Obstacles to the Development of Sisterhood Within a Denominational Institution - St. Joseph's University.

Claire M. Renzetti, Jeanne Buckley, Diane L. Romero.

The plight of women in higher education has received ample documentation. Women are underrepresented in all but the lowest levels of teaching and educational administration. Nevertheless, the character of the denominational university presents unique problems for academic women. The present summary explores some of these difficulties with special reference to Catholic men's colleges which have only recently become coeducational.

Power and Male Dominance

A quick perusal of the mission statements of most Catholic universities reveals a commitment to such goals as making a contribution to the solution of social problems, educating men and women for the social world as well as the world of work, and creating an open environment conducive to growth. However, academic women within Catholic institutions have attempted to bond together precisely because there is frequently a disparity between the ideological foundation to the university and the reality of objective conditions, at least as far as women are concerned.

First, the switch to coeducation has not diminished the male dominance pervasive in former men's Catholic colleges. They remain overwhelmingly "male institutions" in terms of both their administrative hierarchies and their faculties. Women are grossly underrepresented on Boards of Directors as well as advisory committees to the president. The sex composition of the faculty is even more telling. As a representative example, one mid-Atlantic Catholic university has a full-time faculty of 172, only 28 of whom are women. Moreover, 12 of these 28 women are employed as the lecturer, visiting instructor, and instructor rank and only 1 is a full professor. In contrast, of the 145 full-time male faculty, only 17 are lecturers, visiting instructors, or instructors, while 33 are full professors.

This problem is exacerbated by the facts that a significant proportion of the faculty and administrators are alumni of the same institutions in which they work. Returning to the mid-Atlantic university mentioned earlier, for instance, 27% of the full-time male faculty received their undergraduate training at that school and more than half received their undergraduate and/or graduate degrees from other Catholic colleges and universities, most of which were all-male. Thus, male faculty members tend to strongly identify with one another on the basis of their common experiences and training, to serve as role models and mentors for younger male faculty, and to form a kind of fraternity or brotherhood which, of course, excludes women.

Equally important, these men have been steeped in a religious ideology which has long been used to justify discrimination against women. The power structure of the Catholic university often mirrors the power structure of the Church itself. Women cannot be priests, bishops, cardinals, or Pope. All of the decision-making power within the Catholic Church rests in the hands of men, and the religion itself excludes women from power. Similarly, most Catholic schools are headed by religious men who see no reason to elevate women to positions on campus higher than those of second-class citizens. Further, while overt sexism is out of fashion nowadays and in

many cases illegal, this unsavory tradition can nevertheless persist in more subtle forms. For example, certain issues of vital concern to women's rights and equality are simply not "discussable" because they go against the teachings of the church. Thus, the notion of reproductive freedom is relegated to a debate in moral philosophy class or to a Christian marriage course where it is rarely examined from a feminist perspective.

Consequently, since the prevalent Catholic view of woman is that of wife and mother, isolated in the home and raising a good Catholic family, the idea of women bonding together to challenge and change the system is anathema to the men of power on campus and sometimes to many of the women who choose to work there. A lifetime of religious indoctrination does not bend easily to feminist ideology.

Women Against Women

Often, then, women are put in a double-bind. The Church has resisted change for centuries, and what feminists are seeking is just that--change in curriculum, in resources, in personnel decisions, in the allocation of funds. Because those kinds of changes are not supported by the people in positions of power - to be specific, men - they are not popular subjects to bring up at department meetings or presidents' breakfasts. So if women want to achieve success in the institution, and any semblance of power, they have to identify the politically correct issues to support, but if they are feminists, they realize there are problems with the system and its male-dominated values.

Unfortunately, this dilemma sometimes manifests itself in women's relationships with one another creating an atmosphere of divisiveness rather than a shared feeling of sisterhood. The failure of women administrators and faculty to bond together is illustrative here. One of the causes of this lack of bonding is the absence of a common forum for these two groups of women to come together. Frequently no physical space exists on campus for the two groups to be together, and nothing in the committee make-up of the university brings them together. Probably the most important reason, though, is the class/power structure within the university. Since women faculty are generally isolated in their academic departments, they have had to carve their niches within a male population. Nothing in the male hierarchical power structure of the Catholic institution suggests that bonding with other women is the avenue to success, be that in the form of promotion, tenure, institutional awards, released time, or salary increases. Thus, women faculty are often loath to align themselves with administrative women because they see no important gains for them within the system. Although they may couch this feeling under the guise that women faculty and administrators have few issues in common, what they are really saying is that bonding with administrative women will not get them the power they are looking for within their departments or the university. Administrative women, on the other hand, are usually just as isolated within their own offices, and often have the added burden of a sense of inferiority when compared with members of the faculty. Unless a woman administrator is a dean or higher, she usually does not have a Ph. D., and in an environment where credentials are of the utmost importance, where people are judged not only by their degrees but by the university from which they graduated, and where publishing is the most prized professional academic activity, the woman administrator with a bachelor's or a master's degree whose professional work does not manifest itself in publication seems even lower in the power structure than women faculty.

Of course, the built-in hierarchy of the faculty coupled with the power structure serves to further reduce the possibility of bonding especially between junior and senior women faculty. There may be a few women faculty members, for example, who began teaching at the institution prior to the switch to coeducation and who have essentially worked their way up to relatively secure positions in which they perceive themselves as holding some power. But, they simultaneously perceive feminist junior faculty members as a threat to that security. Feminist junior faculty are generally

seen as boat-rockers in this context who, when they attempt to get even small concessions on behalf of women from the administration, are told by these senior faculty women to be careful not to alienate the male powers that be. Clearly, a major part of this problem is that the senior faculty women see themselves as having broken into or as finally breaking into that male fraternity mentioned earlier. In contrast, some of the new junior faculty women are asking, is this really possible and, more importantly, is it even desirable?

Regardless of the source of the problem, however, the result again is divisiveness rather than cohesion and cooperation. The sponsorship or mentoring afforded male junior faculty by their seniors is often missing among women, but also the possibility for a strong sense of sisterhood on campus is undermined. Ultimately this state of affairs can only have detrimental consequences for all women within the institution - students, staff, and administrators as well as faculty.

Separating Church and State

Finally, it must be noted that the ideology of a religious institution can indirectly impede compliance with federal regulations that are related to Affirmative Action and other civil rights issues. Returning to the mission and goals statements of Catholic universities, one often finds that they promote "life according to the laws of God". These institutions believe that the Christian and moral code under which they operate both antedates and supersedes the "new" laws of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). They maintain that if one lives according to the laws of country, it is therefore unnecessary to promulgate policy statements on issues such as sexual harrassment. Consequently, issues which impact the everyday lives of all women on campus are bypassed and ignored under the aegis of religious doctrine.

Conclusions

The present discussion has attempted to outline in very broad terms some of the difficulties confronting women in denominational, and especially Catholic colleges and universities. Unfortunately, the solutions we have to offer are far less numerous. Gatherings and conferences such as this one are a good start, however, for they provide not only the physical space but also the collegial atmosphere in which women can share their ideas as well as their troubles. We can only hope and encourage more women from denominational schools to attend and participate so that perhaps soon sisterhood within such institutions will become a reality.

From Session 12: Feminist Teaching, Non-Feminist Students.

Synopsis: Building a Sense of Sisterhood in Women Students.

Rie Gentzler and Kay Towns.

The presentation and discussion at the session "Building a Sense of Sisterhood in Women Students" centered around the preliminary results of a survey done at The Pennsylvania State University, Capitol Campus. This account will describe the activities which preceded the survey, the survey itself, highlights of the results and a brief summary of the workshop discussion.

Capitol Campus, located near Harrisburg, PA., has approximately 2,500 students. It is an upper-division campus having only juniors, seniors and graduate students. Many of the students are older than the average college student. There is a sizable group of returning women students.

In terms of academic programs and activities for women much progress has been made considering the conservative nature of the campus and surrounding geographic area. At present the Returning Women's Organization is the most active women's group on campus. It is largely through the efforts of this group that this fall a room was designated for use as a women's center. Also, during the past year and a half, new women's courses and several very successful programs have generated a high level of enthusiasm among a growing number of women students.

This enthusiasm is the primary reason why the survey of women students was undertaken. It was felt that some direction was needed if the beginning momentum was to be maintained and more women were to become involved. The questions were asked. How do our women students feel about feminist issues and working closely with other women? What kind of activities would women want available on campus? The resulting survey contained three sections, - demographic information, attitude questions and activity interests.

The three page survey was completed by 225 women. Seventy-five were new students, seventy-five undergraduate students who had been enrolled before and seventy-five graduate students. The students were chosen at random from people going through the registration lines.

The responses to certain statements from the section on attitudes were presented to the workshop participants. Before doing this, however, the participants were asked to write their definition of a feminist on a card. This exercise was relevant to the later discussion of the survey results. Listed below are the three questions initially analyzed with the percentage of responses in different categories.

	Strongly agree/ Agree	Disagree/ Strongly disagree	No Response
I believe women should have the same rights as men.	93.3%	1.7%	4.9%
I believe that women should receive the same pay as men for the same jobs.	96%	1%	3%
I see myself as a feminist	46%	48%	6%

In looking at the percentages, one fact stood out. Over 90% of the respondents were agreeing and strongly agreeing to the statements related to equal political,

social and economic rights for women but less than 50% saw themselves as feminists. Since the accepted definition (Merriam-Webster) of a feminist is one who advocates the political, economic and social equality of the sexes, the large difference between responses to statements using the definition and a statement using the term appeared to indicate a problem with the use of the word feminist as a self-definer. This response was not a surprise, but rather verified at the campus level a phenomenon which has been noted elsewhere.

Discussion among participants centered on the survival problems of women's programs on campuses where either or both students and administrators are hesitant to be identified with feminist labeled activities. One participant told of a woman student who did not use the Women's Center because she did not wish to be seen as an angry person. As indicated in the survey and discussion there is often less than overwhelming support for women's activities. This survey itself is seen as a method of not only gathering information but also of stimulating interest and awareness.

From Session 16: The "Other" Sisters: Ethnic and Cross Cultural Critiques and Perspectives.

Synopsis: Professional Women in Different Language and Cultural Environment: Mirror Images.

Joan Fayer and Amalia Peters.

In both her professional and personal life a woman working in a foreign country experiences isolation and freedom from the culture in which she has chosen to live. The overt and covert prejudices against women, particularly professional women, in her new culture (C_2) may be very different from those that exist in her native culture (C_1). The overt prejudices are quickly perceived. The covert ones may take longer to discover. The methods used for overcoming these prejudices in one culture may not be effective in another. New strategies must be learned or at least attempted.

A woman who uses her native language (L_1) while working in C_2 may also use C_1 as a filter for the evaluation of her experiences. The discontinuities that result from the mismatch can often cause her to feel both frustration and anger. However, since she is not a native of C_2 she may be not permitted to express her feelings. In addition, she may be denied the right to criticize any aspect of C_2.

The data used as the basis of this discussion are the experiences of two women who teach their first language in foreign countries. One is an American teaching English in Puerto Rico. The other is an Argentinian teaching Spanish in the United States. Both obtained their present positions after they moved to the new country. They find that in many ways they are mirror images of each other.

It is true that women are outsiders when they live in their own countries. The power structure is controlled primarily by men. Although both women in this case have become permanent residents of the countries in which they live and work, they are denied full participation in C_2. The reason for this is not that they are just women; they are non-native women. In a sense they are locked in and locked out.

Teaching L_1 in C_2 is very different from teaching this language in C_1. When teaching a language as a foreign language, it must be decided how and to what degree the language and the culture(s) with which it is associated are to be related. Because of temporary or long lasting political sensitivities or frictions, this can be very difficult. Stereotyped image perceptions that may exist can cause misunderstandings not only in the classroom but also in the community.

A teacher of a foreign language is expected to retain her native accent. In addition she is also expected to be a representative of the country and the culture of her birth. But because she is living abroad, other demands are made of her. She must conform at least to some of the norms of C_2. A margin of freedom is given to her as a foreigner. This excuses her from adopting all of the rules that women follow in C_2. To a degree she is given the freedom to create her own context of behavior as a result of being alienated from the community.

From Session 19: Worlds Women Want

Synopsis: A New Adventure: Women's Fantasy/Science Fiction

Sally Mitchell.

As recently as 1960, popular science fiction was virtually a male preserve: 90% of paperback sf novels were bought by men. Now, publishers tell us, the audience is evenly split: 50% of the buyers are women. Much of the change is due to the sudden popularity of heroic adventure and fantasy novels with strong female protagonists. These are not the serious feminist fantasy and utopian novels (by Dorothy Bryant, Ursula LeGuin, Marge Piercy, Joanna Russ, etc.) but rather the series novels by such women as Tanith Lee, Jo Clayton, Elizabeth Lynn, and many others. New authors and new series appear almost weekly. These books are read by a great many of our sisters outside academia. Although they are not literature--they do express values and qualities that are of interest to us as women.

The distinction between serious fiction and popular fiction is important. Literary novels are valued for uniqueness, for technical innovation, for insight, and, in our culture, for ambiguity, internal tension. Reading a literary novel requires some effort; it is intended to stimulate thought. Popular fiction has a different aim and function. Readers pick up a popular novel for relaxation. They are seeking a story exciting enough to distract the mind, sympathetic characters, a style that demands little effort, and a reassuring confirmation--rather than a critical examination--of their values and beliefs. Popular fiction satisfies certain psychological needs, and it confirms the values of the people who make it popular.

Each of the popular genres--adventure, mystery, romance, etc.--is based on an underlying motive or moral fantasy. Adventure is the oldest and most universal of the popular genres. In the adventure, a protagonist accomplishes some important mission in direct conflict with nature and/or other humans. The hero does something ethically good, using skills that the culture values. The underlying motive is victory, imagined as successful competition. There are many adventure formulas--Westerns, spy thrillers, sports stories, etc. Strikingly, outside of fantasy, and up until the past seven or eight years, there has been no adventure formula for adult women in English-speaking mass literature. The popular women's genres have been romance and melodrama--forms that emphasize union with antagonists, or that define success as endurance and survival.

The new women's adventure fantasies give women readers a vicarious experience of competition and victory. They do not merely imitate male adventures. The threat or evil that the protagonist must overcome is generally some vast inaccessible power structure. The antagonist's specific actions--which the woman hero must stop, to succeed in her mission--are evils such as exploiting a planet and its inhabitants damaging the ecology, destroying minds and stealing bodies (a concrete representation of something we do, indeed, fear), using technology unethically to achieve power.

Even though adventure is intimately linked to the hunter virtues of competition, violence and dominance, most female heroes compete successfully by using--at least in part--the maternal virtues of nurturance, flexibility, cooperation, and concern for physical needs. They secure the aid of aliens; they have skills that let them dominate without killing; they are frequently expert at healing. A key role is played by skills like empathy, telepathy, and the ability to understand other languages instantly. In other words, these books take the skills women do have--verbal skills, communication skills, emotional skills--and turn them into the material of heroism, virtue, and success.

From Session 23: Political Perspectives on Sisterhood.

Synopsis: Shirking Sisterhood: Resistance to the British Suffrage Movement.

Caryn McTighe Musil.

I looked at the suffrage struggle for the radical movement it was perceived as being during its moment in history and explored the roots of the organized opposition to suffrage, especially by anti-suffrage women in England. Briefly I mentioned some broad based issues of the nineteenth century women's movement that did not cause organized opposition, the tactics used to persuade others to reform, and reasons why I thought such issues and tactics did not divide women so drastically and painfully as suffrage later did. I then looked at what triggered women's opposition as well as the form that opposition took in England. After summarizing the five reasons the antis offered in their first anti-suffragist appeal in 1889, I also explained how the growth of the anti-suffragist movement correlated with the apparent success of the pro-suffrage movement. I then drew a portrait of the kind of women who were leaders in the anti-suffrage movement, looking at their class background, politics, and history of previous involvement with other issues in the nineteenth century women's movement. In addition I described the form their protest took.

In the last section I discussed the personal repercussions to anti-suffrage women: the way the movement divided women against each other; the arena for ambition, talent, executive abilities the anti-suffrage movement provided; the negative stereotypes about women these antis were forced to accept in order to argue their anti-suffrage position; the way their anti-suffrage posture protected the self-interest of their class; the logic of their anti-suffrage, pro-Imperialist, anti-democratic politics. I ended by briefly speculating on the implications today of understanding why we women have historically been divided on issues that could lead to our eventual liberation.

Synopsis: A Brief Comparison of Feminist Politics in the U.S. and United Kingdom.

Joyce Gelb.

Four major differences appear to distinguish the British and American Feminist movements.

1. The role of socialism. A strong socialist current in British politics has helped to limit the significance of a moderate equal rights movement in Britain. The British feminist movement has no major reformist component comparable to the National Organization of Women and National Women's Political Caucus. Groups such as the National Council of Civil Liberties (NCCL), the Trades Union Congress and Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) have taken up issues involving sex discrimination and legal inequities although the use of law (specifically litigation) is far more circumscribed as a tool for social change in the United Kingdom.

2. Fragmentation v. Networking. The U.S. feminist movement is characterized by networking and overlapping memberships. Groups such as the National Organization

of Women have operated on the principle of inclusivity, bringing together diverse elements from the radical and equal rights and even some socialist branches of feminism. In the main, British feminists lack such coalition-building efforts. There is limited contact between segments of the movement although an innovative effort to facilitate "networking" occurred when the broad based Women's Action Day was held in London in 1980. Still, conflict over feminist ideology, epitomized by the disappearance of large national conferences (the last was held in 1978) suggests continued divisions. Nonetheless, despite the absence of permanent, formal coalitions, British women have organized effectively around specific issues, especially abortion rights.

3. Decentralization and Professionalization. British feminists of various political backgrounds have in the main rejected bureaucratization, centralization and professional politics. This generalization holds for legal groups such as Rights of Women (ROW), issue-oriented groups such as the National Abortion Campaign (NAC) and the Women's Aid Federation and even more avowedly middle class groups and professional groups such as Women in Media. Problems of resources, organizational coherence, skills and access to government have both reinforced and exacerbated ambivalence about participation in established political institutions. Feminist group structures tend to be loose and with limited staff (if any) and no formal membership. It has been argued (by Rowbotham and others) that the British feminist movement is a model for all socialist politics because of its democratic, participatory tendencies. In the U.S., there is similar tension between the desire to be organized and adherence to anti-organizational feminist principles. But, in the U.S. the most visible part of the movement's structure includes more hierarchical and centralized leadership oriented organization and, often, mass membership as well.

4. Organization Within Institutions in Britain. Because of the importance of parties and unions in British politics, women have sought to gain greater representation and policy influence within these bodies. Women's issues (including pay equality, child care, equalization of benefits) have been placed on the agenda of each of the four parties (Labor, Conservative, Liberal and Social Democratic) and support obtained for these issues at party and union conferences. In addition, women have demanded a number of specially set aside seats on union and party governing bodies and have sought to enhance the role of the (predominantly advisory) women's groups present in parties and many unions. Thus far, little change in institutional power structures has occurred, as male domination continues though some organizations (such as the Liberal and Labour Parties which emphasize rank and file participation) may be more open to feminist pressure. The significance of unions as an avenue for women's mobility may reflect as potentially strong working-class feminism in the United Kingdom. In contrast, although they have sought more influence in parties and unions, American feminist groups have tended to organize on separatist basis, outside of existing institutions, around specific feminist issues.

Note: The general conclusions presented here are the outgrowth of continuing research on women in American politics reflected most recently in Women and Public Policies (Princeton, 1982) and a summer (1982) spent interviewing women activists in Great Britain.

From Session 24: Organizing for Success in College and Career among Non-traditional Women Students.

Marilyn R. Berman.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss methods for increasing the success in college and career among non-traditional women students. What follows is a brief description of programs which have aided women in making effective academic and career decisions.

I. How To Succeed in College for the Returning Woman Student.

As an increasing number of adult women sought counseling and study skills assistance at the University of Maryland Counseling Center, it became apparent that these women had needs that were not being met by the existing University programs. In response to these needs, a course was designed to provide supportive services and academic information to the growing number of women who were returning to the University after some lapse in their educational training. The program was designed to provide a learning environment, rather than traditional individual or group counseling. One course was begun in 1973 for women 25 years and older who were entering the University. A second course was simultaneously offered at a community agency. The course at the University is still being offered, but presently, it is available to both men and women returning to school. The courses were evaluated to test the effectiveness of this type of program in modifying women's vocational and psychological attitudes in such a way that their career and personal development would be enhanced (Berman, et al., 1977). More specifically, an attempt was made to determine if, as a result of the courses, changes would occur in vocational decision-making, learning attitudes, attitudes towards women, and receptivity to new information. Pre-Post, experimental-control group designs were employed for both settings. The results suggested that both programs had desirable effects on participants. Students exhibited greater maturity in vocational decision-making and enhanced self-concept. The students made more realistic decisions regarding continuing their education, seeking employment or delaying reentry into school or work because of family responsibilities.

II. Career Fairs

Large annual conferences entitled "Opportunities for Women in Engineering and Science" were held early in October 1974, 1975 and 1976. The conferences provided University of Maryland students, faculty and students from two- and four-year colleges from the State of Maryland, the District of Columbia and Northern Virginia with an opportunity to explore career and educational opportunities in engineering and science related fields. Many "undecided" women students transferred into the College of Engineering after their participation at the conference. The expenses for the conference were provided by contributions of participants from industry and government agencies. These career fairs have become inatitutionalized and are presently offered jointly by the University of Maryland's Career Development Center and the student chapter of the Society of Women Engineers. This activity is extremely worthwhile because it provides valuable information about employment opportunities in science and engineering related fields.

III. The Society of Women Engineers

The student chapter was rechartered in 1974 with 10 women students. At present the student chapter has approximately 100 paid members. As part of their activities they sponsor high school visits; career fairs, and publish resumé books containing

resumés of graduating seniors in the College of Engineering. Their presence in the College is helpful to aspiring women engineering students and provides a supportive network for women in the College.

IV. Women: Study-in-Engineering

Since 1975 a special six-week summer program for women high school students has been conducted at the College of Engineering to raise the awareness of the career and educational opportunities in engineering. The purpose of the program is: (1) to encourage more women students to consider the field of engineering; (2) to provide an opportunity for talented women students to experience college level study earlier; (3) to provide an opportunity for them to experience college life; (4) to provide a basis for evaluating and perhaps changing their planned senior year in high school, and (5) to provide an experience from which the selected women students can relate and help their peers in making a choice of career or study field.

The program is offered to select high school women at the completion of their junior year. The selection process requires students to be recommended by their science or mathematics teachers or counselors with approval of their school principals. A maximum of up to 30 women are accepted each year.

The academic experience is provided through two different courses. One course provides an introduction to engineering science through which students become acquainted with key concepts of applying mathematics and science to engineering problems. Studies include graphical communication as a form for engineering design and product development and the use of the computer in engineering analyses and design.

The second course provides the participants with the opportunity to visit research laboratories on and off campus and to discuss with faculty the areas of basic research done in the various departments within the College. It also provides the students with an introduction to technology and the concepts associated with the development of solutions to technological problems (i.e., engineering design and engineering problem solving).

The Women: Study-in-Engineering program is funded by grants from Bechtel, Bethlehem Steel, C & P Telephone Company, IBM, Westinghouse and Western Electric Corporation.

A follow-up study of the women students was done in the fall of 1980. The study indicated a 65% enrollment in engineering study and a 92% enrollment in technically related fields for participants in the summer programs.

The College of Engineering has been effective in increasing the number of women in engineering study from 6.7% in the fall of 1976 to 20.3% in the fall of 1982.

Reference.

Berman Marilyn R., Gelso, Charles J., Greenfeig, Beverly R., & Hirsch, Rosalyn. The efficacy of supportive learning environments for returning women: an empirical evaluation. Journal of Consulting Psychology, July, 1977, vol. 24. (4).

From Session 25: Restructuring the Academic Community

Synopsis: Connections: Librarians in the Feminist Network

Laura A. Shepard.

There is an abundance of material which supports the premise that the way "good old boys" get to where they are is directly related to the number of "old boys" that they know. To counterbalance the inequality, there is a growing body of literature being written about how women, obviously cut off from the "old boy" systems, should establish their own networks, for both emotional and professional support, providing avenues for mentor relationships and information exchange among women.

As a reference librarian at the University of Delaware who is responsible for doing collection development in the area of women's studies, I am involved with various women-related groups across campus. The University's Commission on the Status of Women, the local chapter of Sociologists for Women in Society, and attendance at lectures, luncheons and other informal gatherings widens my network to include women who are not directly involved in the Women's Studies Program, but whose input might be beneficial in my decision-making. Through constant nurturing, my list includes almost all aspects of the University community.

Although my primary interest is always the library's collection, these relationships have led to an information exchange that assists me in various aspects of both my professional and private life, and I'm able to facilitate connections across department lines, for instance, becoming a bridge between two women who are researching similar subjects. Many of the women that I've met through these contacts have become friends of mine, and we provide mutual support through the ups and downs of our everyday lives.

The Women's Studies Librarian-at-Large, which is a position at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, is primarily responsible for coordinating women's studies at the libraries in the University of Wisconsin system. Assisted by an Advisory Panel, which includes representation from librarians knowledgeable about women's studies, library directors, women's studies program administrators and faculty, and System Administration, the office, among other things, issues two publications and provides computerized literature searching in the area of women's studies.

Although this type of position is not practical on many campuses, most libraries have people who share the responsibility of collection development. Is there someone at your library who is responsible for women's studies? If not, contact the person responsible for overseeing collection development, and ask them who purchases in this area. Identify your particular interest in the subject, and suggest getting together to discuss the library, its services, and the status of the collection as it relates to women. Make suggestions on the types of materials that you know of that would be useful for the library to purchase. The area of women's studies is so interdisciplinary that it's impossible for one person to keep up on all of the materials being published in all areas--it's up to you to let us know what's out there that's worth buying.

Finally, if you happen to find a feminist librarian lurking about in your library, regardless of her responsibilities, bring her into your network. As the curators and disseminators of information, we have limitless knowledge at our fingertips. Take advantage of our presence.

Synopsis: The Androgynous Style: An Alternative for More Effective Communication between the Genders?

Kay Ansell.

Masculinity, within the sociological and psychological literature, has been traditionally associated with aggressiveness and the task-oriented get-the-job-done instrumental role. Femininity, on the other hand, has been associated with maintaining relationships with the family, the nurturing roles, and the expressive orientation. The concept of androgyny permits both men and women to unwind from these traditional roles--to get the job done as well as to remain concerned about the people involved.

In an effort to arrive at that "State of More Effective Communication-ness," the author offers suggestions for both genders based upon masculinity and femininity as bipolar personality concepts. A "Prototype of the Effectively Communicating Androgynous Person" provides five (5) descriptions which "may provide you with a basis for measuring your own androgynous communication style." This prototype includes:

1. S/he is capable of expressing personal feelings which are not "typically" womanly or manly.

2. S/he can honestly and openly communicate in an atmosphere which encourages productive interpersonal communication between the sexes.

3. S/he is proficient in establishing professional goals which are consistent with estimates of personal self-worth.

4. S/he is in constant monitoring position regarding the management of a more androgynous communication style. The best of both male and female characteristics results in a complementary meld suitable for adaptation on-the-job.

5. S/he considers power to be the capacity to mobilize resources (people and things) in order to get things done. Powerful persons are both task-oriented and people-oriented.

Future projections indicate an accelerating rate of real change as both men and women move throughout organizations. In fact, experts are already predicting the future of working relationships between the sexes at the turn of the century. "By the year 2000 there isn't going to be a question about it. . . women and men will be working equally in the work force," said Betty Friedan, author of The Feminine Mystique (1963) and The Second Stage (1981). What is needed is an integration of "masculinity" and "femininity" into persons who are truly androgynous--into what Maslow would describe as the "self-actualized person."

Program of Conference Poetry Reading

Poems by and about Women

Valerie Boylan and Lynette McGrath

Woman and Man

A. D. Hope, Imperial Adam

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Edna St. Vincent Millay, Recuerdo
Two Sonnets: Oh, oh, you will be sorry
I being born a woman

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Adrienne Rich, Living in Sin
Anne Sexton, For my Lover Returning to his Wife

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Elizabeth Barrett Browning, How do I love Thee?
Carolyn Kizer, Widow in Wintertime

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Diane Wakoski, Steely Silence
Muriel Rukeyser, Effort at Speech between Two People

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Erica Jong, Seventeen Warnings in Search of a Feminist Poem

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Virginia Woolf, from A Room of One's Own

Woman

Denise Levertov, Stepping Westward
Muriel Rukeyser, More of a Corpse than a Woman

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Phyllis McGinley, Why Some of my Best Friends are Women
Diane Wakoski, To the Wives

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Louise Bogan, Women
Nikki Giovanni, Poetry
Freda Laughton, The Woman with Child
Gwendolyn Brooks, The Mother

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Anonymous, From Holloway Prison

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Scene from the staged reading, 1852 Women's Rights Convention, West Chester, Pa.

1852 WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION, WEST CHESTER, PA.

Text of staged reading: 1852 Women's Rights Convention, West Chester, Pa. Script by Saundra Hall and William Morehouse, based on material from Stanton, Anthony, Gage, et al., History of Woman Suffrage, vol. 1.

Nar. Welcome to Horticultural Hall, for that is where I want you to imagine you are. Go back with me 130 years in time to the building on North High Street which has since come to be known as the home of the Chester County Historical Society. There, in that building, people met in Pennsylvania's first convention to discuss the rights of women. The irony surely cannot escape us as we celebrate the 300th anniversary year of the settlement of Penn's Sylvan Colony in which the City of Brotherly Love was founded and the views of all men were to be respected. One hundred years after its settlement the colony had become a colony in a union of states founded on the declaration that all men were created equal. And yet, it was not until 1852, that people came together here, in this room of Horticultural Hall to review the position of women in the noble experiment--a democratic society. We don't know the number of people who attended the convention, but we do know they came from Ohio, Pennsylvania, New England and probably other areas as well. We won't be able to meet all those who attended, nor hear everything which was said on that second of June, but let me introduce you to some of those who did take part so that they may speak for themselves.

The women's movement has been created and led by people with diverse talents. If Lucy Stone is its most gifted orator, Mrs. Stanton its outstanding philosopher, and Mrs. Anthony its incomparable organizer, Lucretia Mott typifies the motal force of the movement. It is an honor to present her to the convention. Her very presence will be an inspiration to us now and in the years to come.

Mrs. Mott: The Call to Convene reads as follows: "The friends of Justice and Equal Rights are earnestly invited to assemble in Convention to consider and discuss the present position of Woman in Society. The reasons for such a Convention are obvious. With few exceptions, both radical and conservative portions of the community agree that woman, even in this progressive age and country, suffers under legal, educational, and vocational disabilities which ought to be removed. To examine the nature of these disabilities, to inquire into their extent, and to consider the most feasible and proper mode of removing them, will be the aim of the Convention. If it shall promote in any degree freedom of thought and action among women; if it shall assist in opening to them any avenues to honorable and lucrative employment (now unjustly and unwisely closed); if it shall aid in securing to them more thorough intellectual and moral culture; if it shall excite higher aspirations; if it shall advance by a few steps just and wise public sentiment, it will not have been in vain. The elevation of woman is the elevation of the human race. Her interests cannot be promoted or injured without advantage or injury to the whole race. The call for such a Convention is therefore addressed to mankind. All persons interested in its objects are respectfully requested to be present at its sessions and participate in its deliberations.

Nar.: Thank you, Mrs. Mott. Will Sydney Pierce, secretary for the convention, come to the platform? None of the local people here will need an introduction to this woman, who, though married to Mr. Thomas W. Walter, the well-known architect who designed Horticultural Hall, has broken with tradition by not adopting her husband's name as her own. Her contributions to the organization of this convention are greatly appreciated. (Pierce has taken her place on stage.)

Although we women outnumber the men in attendance, we will not ignore their presence as is so often our experience when men run public meetings. Mr. Chandler Darlington, a member of the Kennett Square Friends Meeting, is well known in this area as a friend of the Negro. Always interested in the human condition, he is with us today as a vice president of our convention, as a friend to our cause. (He takes his place on stage during the intro and nods to Nar. and audience.)

Mr. Joseph Dugdale (he moves to platform), from Longwood Meeting, is also a friend to our goals, and whose participation on the convention's business committee is greatly appreciated.

Mrs. Frances Dana Gage comes to us from Ohio (she moves to platform), but her reputation as an activist for the concerns of women has preceded her. She, too, has graciously agreed to serve on the Business Committee.

Dr. Ann Preston (she moves to platform), originally from West Grove, has recently received her medical degree from the Female Medical College of Philadelphia, but her dedication to the improvement in the medical care of women is not new to us.

Dr. Harriet Hunt (moves to platform) shares the medical concerns of her colleague Dr. Preston. She has recently issued a public statement in which she pledged to accompany all of her future tax payments with a written protest so long as woman does not have the right to vote.

(Dr. Preston crosses to narrator.)

Preston: Excuse me--if I may interrupt for just a moment. There is something else you should all know about Dr. Hunt. The Female Medical College of Philadelphia has authorized me to announce that Dr. Hunt will, next year, be the recipient of an honorary medical degree from that institution in recognition of the leadership she has provided for woman in medicine. (Perhaps some applause.)

Nar.: Mrs. Clarina Howard Nichols (she moves to platform) has come to us from West Townshend, Vermont where she is the editor of her newspaper, the Democrat. Five years ago she published a series of articles deploring the legal and property restrictions placed on married woman. She has travelled widely for our cause and has presented her views at two previous state conventions on woman in Ohio and Massachusetts.

Mrs. Eva Pugh (goes to platform) must be among those recognized because of the many hours she has given to the organization of this meeting.

It is now my pleasure to give you Mrs. Mariana Johnson who, as president of this convention will present her opening remarks.

Pres. Mariana Johnson: The position in which woman has been placed is an anomaly. On the one hand she is constantly reminded of duties and responsibilities from which

an angel might shrink. The world is to be saved by her prayers, her quiet and gentle efforts. Man, she is told, is ruled by her smiles; his whole nature subdued by the potency of her tears. Priests, politicians, and poets assure her with flattering tongue, that on her depend the progress and destiny of the race. On the other hand, she is told that she must lovingly confide in the strength and skill of man, who has been endowed with superior intellectual powers; that she must count it her highest honor to reflect upon the world the light of his intelligence and wisdom, as the moon reflects the light of the sun! BUT, we are not here like a moon or a mirror to reflect the light or the image of man, but rather to establish our own place in the sun so that we may cast shadows of our own.

Mott: The shadows are already forming. There are now cheering indications that the ignorance and darkness which have so long brooded over the prospects of woman are beginning to give place to the light of truth. In the summer of 1848, in the village of Seneca Falls, a small number of women assembled in Convention and boldly claimed for themselves, and for their sex, the rights so long withheld by man. The fruits of that convention were seen in the large Convention held in Ohio in the spring of 1850, and in that held in Massachusetts in the autumn of the same year, as well as those which have followed since in New England and the West. Woman at last is awaking from the slumber of ages.

Pierce: Woman does not listen with delight when she hears her relations to her equal brother represented by the poetical figure of the trellis and creeping tendril, or of the oak and the clinging vine. No, she feels that she is, like him, an accountable being. She sees the glaring injustice by which she has long been deprived of all fair opportunity to earn an independent livelihood, and thus, in too many instances, constrained to enter the marriage relation, as a choice of evils, to secure herself against the ills of impending poverty. The wrong she so deeply feels she is at length arousing herself to redress. What then is the substance of our demand? We demand for woman equal freedom with her brother to raise her voice and to exert her influence directly for the removal of the evils that afflict the race; we demand for her educational advantages equal to those enjoyed by the other sex; we demand for her the right to follow any honorable calling or profession for which she may be fitted by her intellectual training and capacity; we demand for her a fair opportunity to attain a position of pecuniary independence, and to this end that she receive for her labor a compensation equivalent to its recognized value when performed by the other sex. The true interests of the sexes are not antagonistic, but harmonious. I have not chosen to retain my maiden name because I do not respect my husband. I choose to be known as Sydney Pierce because I respect myself.

Johnson: Many of us have already perceived that knowledge, sound judgement, and perfect freedom of thought and action are quite as important for the mothers as for the fathers of the race. We are weary of the senseless talk of "womansphere", when that sphere is so circumscribed that we may not exert our full influence to save ourselves and our country from war, slavery, ignorance, poverty, and crime.

Nichols: I find the idea that woman is limited to a <u>particular</u> sphere of activity and absurdity in the extreme. The limitations of women, like those of men, should be determined by ability, capacity, and moral obligation.

Mott: Woman is in a state of transition. She fails in her attempts to emancipate herself from slavery to public opinion. Those who have long held the reins of power and the rank of superiority distrust a movement

which threatens to transform the baby and the toy into an intellectual being, desiring equal rights with themselves and asserting her claim to all the immunities they enjoy.

Pierce: Our demands, we think, must be admitted to be essentially wise and just. We make them with a deep conviction that they are prompted by an enlightened regard for the highest welfare of the race. The human family is so linked together that any violence done at one end of the drain is felt throughout its length.

Nichols: We live in this woman movement because we see in it the potential for the future development of humanity. Our country has been built by man and woman working in tandem. As American pioneers continue to settle the western lands, men and women work together to build their families, homes, farms, and cities. It has been said that politics is too degrading for women, but if that is so, who has caused the degradation but men? The idea that woman cannot go to the ballot-box without a sacrifice of her delicacy is absurd. The question is not one of propriety, but rather, shall we have the right to vote? Propriety is a question best left to an individual's conscience.

Hunt: Exactly why I have launched my tax protest. American men fought and died in battle because they believed free men could not endure taxation without representation, and yet all women are expected to endure. We are taxed, but we are not represented, nor are we free to pursue the limits of our abilities.

Darlington: Yes, it puzzles me when the distinguished President of Antioch College can on the one hand champion the education of woman, and on the other hand argue against her participation in government.

Johnson: Horace Mann's lecture tour has made us well aware that he views the woman's suffrage movement--or what he believes it to be--as a false philosophy.

Nichols: If he were a woman and used the same arguments, men would laugh at his "feminine logic", but it is a rare man who questions President Mann when he states that "our legislative halls are such beer gardens that they are not fit for woman to enter".

Darlington: Such a statement does not speak well of our legislators.

Hunt: --nor of the men who elect them.

Nichols: I question his facts as well as his logic. The idea that woman cannot go to the ballot-box or represent others in governmental halls without sacrifice of her delicacy is patently absurd. If men choose to act like animals, then why are women held accountable? Woman can now travel alone securely, where formerly it was considered a risk. Why can she not deposit her vote with men with as much propriety as she can ride with them in railroad cars and on steamboats. Furthermore, I travelled here all the way from the Green Mountains of Vermont with members of Congress and delegates to the Baltimore Convention as my travelling companions. Not a "Bear" among them! (Some laughter from the others.)

Johnson: We have not yet addressed one of the major issues which is to be brought before this convention. Dr. Hunt has several resolutions to present which have to do with the medical profession.
Dr. Hunt.

Harriet K. Hunt: I rise to offer the following resolutions:
First. Resolved, That the present position of medical organizations, precluding women from the same educational advantages with men, under pretext of delicacy, virtually acknowledges the impropriety of his being her medical attendant.
Second. Resolved, That we will do all in our power to sustain those women who, from a conviction of duty, enter the medical profession, in their efforts to overcome the evils that have accumulated in their path, and in attacking the strongholds of vice.
Third. Resolved, That the past actions and present indications of our medical schools should not affect us at all; and notwithstanding Geneva and Cleveland Medical Colleges closed their doors after graduating one woman each, and Harvard, through the false delicacy of the students, declared it inexpedient to receive one who had been in successful practice many years, we would still earnestly follow in peace and love where duty points, and leave the verdict to an enlightened public sentiment.
(General applause and ad libs.)

Nichols: Enlightened public sentiment!! Where do we find it? Men tell us we have no qualifications to do any kind of work outside the home, and yet, they block our efforts to seek to remedy our lack of expertise. Men hold the purse even when it is filled by the labor of both. They close the college doors, though we have helped to build and endow them. Does it cost too much to educate the future mothers of this nation in the science of life? Who can estimate how much greater are the expenses incurred by our ignorant violation of the laws of health?

Frances Dana Gage: I feel compelled to announce that those few have been most successful in the high quality of scholarship achieved. Their performance in academic achievements have surpassed that of the young men with whom they competed. So long as the lives of children are conceded to be in the hands of their mothers, it is of vital consequence that women be thoroughly educated for the medical profession.

Pierce: When our babies die, it is we who feel most keenly our ignorance. Women should at least know enough to be physician to ourselves and our children. The idea of a female doctor is ridiculed, but to whom do men turn when they need nursing? Why am I, without the knowledge of the art of healing, expected to heal every family illness? Why am I, in the prime of life, in such feeble health? Girls must not exercise; it is not fashionable. A girl must not be active; it is not feminine. Boys may run, girls must creep.

Eva Pugh: The degradation of one sex is the degradation of the other. The question is universal. No fact is better established than that the character of the parent is inherited by the child. Can noble men be born of infirm women? Who are the mothers of great men? Women of mind, of thought, of independence; not women degraded by man's tyranny, laboring in prescribed limits, thinking other people's thoughts, and echoing their opinions. The question of woman's rights affects the whole human race.

Mrs. Gage: I cannot wholly agree with the statements of the previous speaker. That men are what their mothers make them is not a universal truth. I am repelled by this sentiment and believe it to be an indignity to me and others of my sex. What mother ever taught her son to drink rum, gamble, swear, smoke, and chew tobacco? The truth is, boys are taught to regard their mothers as inferior, and that it is not manly to follow her instructions. In the town where I live in Morgan County, Ohio, women sent a large petition to the court asking that grogshops not be licensed. The judge's response

was that "woman's place is in the nursery and the parlor, and that when she interferes with public affairs, or sets herself up as an instructor of the courts, she is out of her sphere". Men perpetuate those institutions which undermine the influence of mothers, and corrupt the morals of their sons. Boys are what men make them, but it is the mother who is blamed for their failures.

Mrs. Mott: Woman is all too often told the fault is hers, whether for the condition of her husband, her child, OR herself. She is even told she is the cause of her inferior condition because she accepts it. She is not unlike the slave pressed down by laws the making of which she has no voice, and is crushed by customs which have grown out of such laws. She cannot rise, for, so long as she is trampled into the dust, she, like the slave, is not respected and not heard.

Johnson: Do I understand from what I have heard that you are in support of the resolutions presented by Dr. Hunt? (General indications of agreement.) Then I will instruct the recording secretary to incorporate the resolutions into the official minutes of the meeting if I hear no objection. (Slight pause.) So ordered. Allow me to add that I believe the medical education of women is of significance, not only to create women doctors and nurses but also to permit each of us to know our bodies well enough to enable us to know what questions to ask of our children, or husbands, our doctors--even ourselves. Illness or death which cannot be avoided is a shock to all families. Avoidable illness and unnecessary death are truly tragic.

Dugdale: I'd like to pursue your last point a little further. None can question the inequality of women before the law, and that injustice is most pronounced when households are broken up on the death of the husband. Women need not find themselves penniless, even under present law, if their husbands will but follow the example of Martin Luther and provide a will to convey the whole of their joint industry and economy as real property to their wives. Luther in his will said that he gave all he had to his wife because he would not have her dependent on the children, but the children dependent on her.

Mott: Martin Luther's generosity exceeded his sensitivity.

Dugdale: How so?

Mott: I am sure he, like so many men who mean well, acted with the best of intentions.

Dugdale: The will leaves little doubt, and I believe its wording demonstrates great love and respect for his wife. Among his reasons he lists for leaving his money to his wife he says--and I quote--"Because she has always conducted herself toward me lovingly, worthily, and beautifully, like a pious, faithful, and noble wife..." end of quotation. I see him to have been a man of considerable sensitivity to have expressed those thoughts.

Mott: With all respect Mr. Dugdale, for I know you to be a man who supports us in our cause, you see him through the eyes of a man. One cannot fault you for that, but a woman may have a different perception. As you stated <u>he</u> leaves <u>his</u> wife <u>his</u> money. There is no recognition of <u>her equal right</u> to <u>their joint</u> earnings. A wife should not be obliged to accept as <u>a gift</u> that which in justice belongs to her. I mean no offense, sir.

Dugdale: No offense taken. I recognize that his wife was put in the position of an inferior dependent, although I doubt that was his intent. His action

emonstrated a break with tradition which could be emulated by men today to the advantage of their wives.

Mott: The law in the State of New York has been amended in the last few years to give the wife some control over at least a part of her property, but much remains to be done.

Dugdale: We must work together to achieve even greater change in the laws which limit the property rights of women. Men are not enriched by the inequality of women.

Mott: (with a smile) They may well be enriched but they are not ennobled.

Preston: The question is repeatedly asked by those who have thought but little upon the subject of woman's position in society, "What does she want more than she possesses already? Is she not beloved, honored, guarded, cherished? How are her rights infringed, or her liberties curtailed?"

Pugh: Oh yes, glowing pictures have been drawn of the fitness of the present relations of society, and the beauty of woman's dependence upon the protecting love of man, and frightful visions have been evoked of the confusion and perversion of nature which would occur if the doctrine of the equal rights of man and woman was once admitted.

Darlington: Indeed, the idea seems to prevail that movements for the elevation of woman arise, not from the legitimate wants of society, but from the vague restlessness of unquiet spirits; not from the serene dictates of wisdom, but from the headlong impulses of fanaticism.

Pugh: We came not to argue that question of the relative strength of intellect in man and woman; for the reform we advocate depends not upon its settlement. The interests of man and woman are not in conflict.

Mott: "The woman's cause is man's: They rise or sink together, dwarfed or God-like, bond or free."

Preston: We maintain that woman should not lose any of her refinement or delicacy. We do not contend that she should become noisy or dictatorial. We claim that woman, nor man, should not engage in any vocation or appear in any situation to which her abilities are not suited. But we ask for her, as for man, equality before the law, and freedom to exercise all her powers and faculties under the direction of her own judgment and volition.

When a woman dies, leaving behind her a husband and children, no appraisers come into the home to examine the effects; the father is the guardian of his offspring; family relationships are not invaded by law. But when a man dies the case is entirely different; strangers come into the house to take inventory of the effects, strangers are appointed to be the guardians of her children; and she, their natural care-taker, has no further legal direction of their interests; strangers decide upon the propriety of the sale of the property--earned by the mutual efforts of husband and wife--and her interest in the estate is cooly designated as the "widow's incumbrance".

Pugh: Have we all not witnessed the widow separated from her children and set out of her home, where every object held its memories, to seek shelter with sometimes unwelcoming relatives.

Preston: We ask for such a change in public sentiment as shall force the repeal of such oppressive laws, If widows retain their own and their husband's

their children.

The idea seems to prevail that movements for the elevation of woman arise from the headlong impulses of fanaticism. We but ask for her, as for any man, equality before the law, and freedom to exercise all her powers and faculties under the direction of her own judgment and volition. We ask that woman shall have free access to vocations of profit and honor, the means of earning a livelihood and independence for herself! Their pursuits are determined not by their inclination, judgment, and ability, as are those of man, but by the popular estimate of what is proper and becoming. The whole tendency of our customs, habits, and teaching, is to make her dependent on outward circumstances and dependent in spirit.

Not all women are wives and mothers, but all have spirits needing development. The same energies which men vent in the professions, and in the thousand forms of business and study, must find an ennobling channel in women.

We believe that the woman who is obeying the convictions of her own soul, and whose ability is commensurate with her employment, is ever in her own true sphere; whether in her quiet home where she is training her children, or is standing as a physician by the bed of sickness; whether, she is preaching the gospel, or is filling a professor's chair and expounding philosophy to admiring and instructed listeners. We believe that woman is an accountable being. In all life's great extremities she is thrown upon her inward resources, and stands alone. Man cannot step between her and her own conscience.

Johnson: Before we move to the presentation of additional resolutions, I would like Mr. Darlington to summarize what we have covered thus far in our meeting.

Darlington: I do not propose to detail the disabilities under which woman suffers. They have been ably depicted by women in this meeting. But I wish to indicate the breadth and basis of this reform, for the consideration of those people who suppose it to be a fractional and transient movement. The suffering and degradation of woman reacts with frightful force upon man. His denial of her equal opportunities of education and development, profit and progress, has lost him a partner through her counsels, her strength, her wisdom could have made his own burdens lighter and his life more rewarding. WE know this is a work for whole generations. It should be at once begun.

Johnson: I now call for the resolutions. (The resolves will each be stated by a different person. Each will step forward and link arms with a previous speaker as the "resolve" is read.)

A. Resolved: That every party which claims to represent the humanity, the civilization, or the progress of the age, is bound to inscribe on its banner, "Equality before the laws, without distinction of sex."

B. Resolved: That the greatest and most varied development of the human mind, and the widest sphere of usefulness, can be obtained only by the highest intellectual culture of the whole people, and that all obstructions should be removed which tend to prevent women from entering, as freely as men, upon the study of the physical, mental, and moral sciences.

C. Resolved: That the disposition of property by law as affecting married parties, ought to be the same for the husband and the wife.

D. Resolved: That the wife should have, during life, an equal control over the property gained by their mutual toil and sacrifices.

E. Resolved: That a wife should be heir to her husband precisely to the extent that he is heir to her.

F. Resolved: That the inequality of the remuneration paid for woman's labor compared with that of man, is unjust and degrading, for so long as custom awards to her smaller compensation for services of equal value, she will be held in a state of dependence, not by any order of nature, but by an arbitrary rule of man.

G. Resolved: That in claiming for woman all the rights of human beings we are but asserting her humanity, leaving the difference actually existing in the male and female constitutions to take care of themselves, these differences furnishing no reason for subjecting one sex to the other.

Nar.: It all sounds so familiar.

For 130 years the same arguments, the same words, have been presented in efforts to improve the status of women. And yet, at the end of June 1982, time ran out for the Equal Rights Amendment and the struggle continues.

According to its opponents: "The ERA failed because the ERAers do not have a product to sell. People do not want their daughters drafted, and women do not want to be forced into the job market."

Yet, when the amendment was read to subjects of a survey, the study revealed that 73% of the public approved.

More than 50% of the American women who are among the employed are there because economic and social conditions have forced them to seek payment for their labors. Women, through the amendment, only sought those same choices, those same options men have so long considered their "alienable rights".

The women's movement has not sought to turn women into men, nor to force women to seek employment outside the home. Women seek equality with men, and if they choose to work outside the home they ought to have equal pay for equal work.

When a college degree held by a woman is worth on the average what an eight-grade education is to man, "equal opportunity under the law" remains a myth in our society. Fifty-nine cents on the dollar, and dropping, is not equal.

Women are still placed on pedestals not of their choosing or making.

False issues, such as unisex toilets and women being drafted, have been raised against us to cloud the real concerns.

I want neither my daughter NOR my son drafted, but I do want them to be equal under the law.

We are told by our opponents that an Equal Rights Amendment is not necessary because laws presently exist which assure equality. It is true that there are growing numbers of women doctors, dentists, lawyers, and engineers, but when discrimination against women does exist only a few can afford the costs in time, energy, and legal fees to pursue their rights.

Even in education, long open to women as a profession, equality is yet to be achieved.

It took seventy years for women to gain the right to vote in this country. Equal rights will come too.

The amendment was so positive, so simple, so appropriate. It took nothing away from anyone. It only said: Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on the account of sex.

Can you improve on that?

CAST OF CHARACTERS

NARRATOR	Sandi Hall
LUCRETIA MOTT	Jane Swan
SYDNEY PIERCE	Pauline Rosa-Martir
CHANDLER DARLINGTON	Ben Peters
JOSEPH DUGDALE	John Lagos
FRANCES GAGE	Helen Reed
ANN PRESTON	Mary Ann Baldwin
HARRIET HUNT	Betty Morehouse
CLARINA NICHOLS	Jane Saddoris
EVA PUGH	Karin Chidester
MARIANA JOHNSON	Alice Pierce

Cygnets and Ducklings: George Eliot and the Problem of Female Community*.

Linda Hunt.

Successful in important intellectual circles and the companion of prominent male thinkers, George Eliot was sharply aware of the way her life diverged from the common feminine pattern. This sense of what she was to call "the peculiarities of my lot" (1) led to feelings of estrangement from women. In a letter written to her friend Sarah Hennell in 1852 she says: "I wish I could throw myself heavily into the love of other women beside you and Cara, but somehow the male friends always eclipse the female." (2) Edith Simcox records in her autobiography a conversation with Eliot:

> Then she said--perhaps it would shock me--she had never in all her life cared very much for women--it must seem monstrous to me...She went on to say...that she cared for the womanly ideal, sympathized with women and liked for them to come to her in their troubles, and while feeling near to them in one way, she felt far off in another; the friendship and intimacy of men was more to her. (3)

Edith Simcox was in love with George Eliot, and Eliot was undoubtedly in part attempting to check erotic advances when she made these remarks. Still, one notes the condescension and lack of reciprocity implicit in the kind of relationship with other women she professes to enjoy, and at the same time takes note of the regret and guilt which pervade these comments as they do the outburst to Sarah Hennell. The conflict and ambivalence George Eliot felt in regard to the issue of female community determine her fictional realization of ties between women, and provide an important theme for her last novel, Daniel Deronda. Until her final book Eliot is unable to take anything but a contemptuous or condescending stance towards women as a group, and her novels show her bringing to life only relationships between women in which one character is a more complex emotional and moral being than the other. As this paper will show, however, in Daniel Deronda Gwendolen Harleth's lack of identification with other women is an aspect of her moral limitations, and her growth in stature is expressed in part by the desire to reconcile with her sex. The kind of imaginative incarnation George Eliot gives to relationships between women in all of her fiction, and her attempt in Daniel Deronda to grapple with the question of solidarity among women, provide insight into the dilemma female community could present to a successful professional woman in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In George Eliot's fiction women as a group are surveyed from a distance, and frequently satirized. In "Janet's Repentance," the women who gather in Mrs. Linton's parlor to cover books for the library are petty and silly, and their pretensions to learning are especially foolish. The narrator, ostentatiously male, may understand the source of their adulation for Mr. Tryan, the Evangelical clergyman, but the tone is nonetheless superior, the tone of an outsider observing a pathetic set of people who cannot help but be ridiculous: "Poor women's hearts! Heaven forbid that I should laugh at you, and make cheap jests at your susceptibility towards the clerical sex..." (4) Despite protestations to the contrary, the narrator is laughing. It is instructive to compare these old maids with the Miss Brownings of Mrs. Gaskell's Wives and Daughters and with the various spinsters of Cranford. Mrs. Gaskell also encourages us to see the humor of eccentricity, but in her books female society has its own dignity and even power. Mrs. Gaskell does not view such women as another species from herself.

In "Janet's Repentance," although some of the women of Milby sympathize with Janet's suffering, appreciate her acts of charity, and try to help her, others are

eager to criticize. Miss Pratt sanctimoniously applies the feminine ideal of self-regulation to Janet's case as an excuse for her refusal to empathize: "A woman should find support in her own strength of mind" (Chapter 3). Repeatedly the Milby women are shown to be narrow-minded and hard in their judgements. Eliot includes Mrs. Crewe's kind remarks in her review of Milby gossip, but significantly the passage concludes with a male view of women: "Mr. Phipps, amiable and laconic, wondered how it was women were so fond of running each other down" (Chapter 13). Individual women like Mrs. Pettifer go out of their way to help Janet, but the reader is left with the impression that women as a group are "catty."

In Mill on the Floss the Dodson women are hen-like and small minded (despite Aunt Glegg's loyalty at the end), and the female society of St. Ogg's is downright vicious. Indeed, Lucy's capacity to be "loving and thoughtful for other women" is described as "this rarest quality in her" (Book Six, Chapter 1). Eliot mimics the tone and syntax of feminine gossip:

> Public opinion in these cases is always of the feminine gender--not the world, but the world's wife.....the world's wife, with that fine instinct which is given her for the preservation of society, saw at once that Miss Tulliver's conduct had been of the most aggravated kind. Could there be anything more detestable? To the world's wife there had always been something in Miss Tulliver's very physique that a refined instinct felt to be prophetic of harm. As for poor Mr. Stephen Guest, he was rather pitiable than otherwise; a young man of five and twenty is not to be too severely judged in these cases, he is really very much at the mercy of a designing, bold girl. (Book Seven, Chapter 2)

Such glimpses of the collective consciousness of womankind indicate that in spite of George Eliot's famous emphasis on the value of community, the community of women holds little appeal for her. Of course Charlotte Brontë too, in all of her novels, shows women together to be capable of nastiness, but she also offers us a vision of women who are intellectual and moral equals deriving sustenance and/or useful example from one another. George Eliot's imagination, on the other hand, even when it encompassed women having a positive impact on one another, apparently responded to the maternal rather than the sisterly mode. When the world is divided between exceptional and ordinary women little reciprocity is possible.

In the Prelude to Middlemarch the narrator says ironically:

> The limits of variation are really much wider than anyone would imagine from the sameness of women's coiffure and the favourite love stories in prose and verse. Here and there a cygnet is reared uneasily among the ducklings in the brown pond, and never finds the living stream in fellowship with its own oary-footed kind.

In regard to "the woman question" Eliot is in most respects quite traditional, but she can evoke with passion the constrictions on a Maggie Tulliver, a Dorothea Brooke, a Gwendolen Harleth, because she is concerned that a good or a potentially good woman may, like herself, simply not conform to the common pattern. Reviewing Margaret Fuller's Woman in the Nineteenth Century, she is careful to include Fuller's assurance that "... a large proportion of women would give themselves to the same employments as now... The difference would be that all need not be constrained to employments for which some are unfit." (5) In the terms of her own metaphor, Eliot seems to feel that allowance must be made for the presence of a few cygnets among the ducklings. This distinction informs her depiction of the female world, and in Middlemarch defines the kind of relationship possible between Dorothea and Celia and between Dorothea and Rosamund. Mary Garth, who has stature of her own, is emotionally isolated from all women except her mother.

In Adam Bede Dinah sustains Hetty in her hour of need, but she is superior to Hetty in every respect. In Mill on the Floss Maggie and Lucy are friends when they grow up, and Maggie even uses her cousin as a confidante, but despite Lucy's goodness the reader is always aware that Maggie towers over her cousin intellectually and spiritually. Phillip Wakem, not Lucy, offers Maggie the high-minded friendship which her noble nature craves. In short, Lucy is a "duckling," and a duckling can make only limited contributions to the life of a "cygnet." Again and again in George Eliot's work, while lesser women characters may look to morally impressive ones for spiritual inspiration, as Hetty does to Dinah or Rosamond briefly to Dorothea, the heroines can turn only to men for intellectual stimulation and guidance.

II.

As mentioned above, Daniel Deronda represents an important shift in George Eliot's evaluation of ties between women. For the first time we have an appealing image of female society. The Meyrick family, mother and three daughters, are an amiable group of women who are presented in scenes which suggest domestic tableaux. We see them reading aloud to one another while happily engaged in earning money for necessities by embroidering cushions and doing illustrations. This family of women is intelligent and cultured without being too intellectual, broad-minded enough to wholeheartedly embrace Mirah although they know she is a Jewess, and "united by a triple bond--family love, admiration for the finest work, the best actions; and habitual industry" (Chapter 18). In other words, in George Eliot's view their values are impeccable and in direct contrast to the preoccupation with material position and social status which afflicts the more fashionable characters of the novel whose families are much less cozily unified. When Anna Gascoigne visits the Meyricks we are told:

> The visit had been arranged that Anna might see Mirah; the three girls were at home with their mother, and there was naturally a flux of talk among the six feminine creatures, free from the influence of a distorting male standard. (Chapter 52)

Thus George Eliot emphasizes the nature of the lives the Meyrick women lead: they thrive within what is essentially a feminine subculture.

Mrs. Meyrick is a perfect mother, and the life she lives with her girls is the standard against which we must place Mrs. Davilow and her five daughters. Gwendolen's family does not measure up very well. Her mother, although loving, is weak and unhappy, and her half-sisters are mere shadows to her, "four units utterly unimportant," whose existence has always been an embarrassment and an irritation. Eliot's point is that Gwendolen lacks a positive womanly identity and correct values because she has been deprived of a cohesive and well-regulated female world. The fact that Gwendolen is not rooted in a community of women is paralleled by her lack of geographical roots, and both contribute to the flaws in her character.

When Gwendolen comes to Offendene she takes a dim view of her own sex. Glad to be in close proximity to her uncle, she hopes "that the family life would cease to be entirely insipidly feminine" (Chapter 3). While she is strongly attached to her mother, she treats her with a combination of infantile selfishness and marked disdain. Gwendolen is convinced that she will manage marital matters better than did her mother whose two marriages were unhappy, and feels thoroughly superior to Mrs. Davilow's suffering. She has no interest in being part of female society ". . . there were no beginnings of intimacy between her and the other girls. . . Perhaps it was that she was not much interested in them, and when left alone in their company had a sense of empty benches" (Chapter 11). Seeing the powerlessness of women and their tendency to be victims, Gwendolen arrogantly refuses to identify with her sex. She feels "well equipped for the mastery of life," but in fact is unable to imaginatively transform the social forms pertaining to women, so there is no actual basis for her unique expectations:

> She rejoiced to feel herself exceptional; but her horizon was that of the genteel romance where the heroine's soul poured out in her journal is full of vague power, originality and general rebellion, while her life moves stricktly in the sphere of fashion. . . (Chapter 6)

Gwendolen has her first premonition that she has been mistaken in her condescension towards the sufferings of womankind when confronted by Lydia Glasher, Grandcourt's cast-off mistress. Lydia says, "You are very attractive, Miss Harleth. But when he first knew me, I too was young. Since then my life has been broken up and embittered" (Chapter 14). Gwendolen looks at her and feels terror: "it was as if some vision had come to her in a dream and said, 'I am a woman's life'" (Chapter 14). Unable to forget this image, Gwendolen first tries to run away from Grandcourt, but the pressure of her family's reduced economic circumstances lead her ultimately to accept his proposal. Yet she is never able to obliterate Lydia's face, and when her suitor asks if any man stands between them, she thinks to herself, "'No; but there is a woman'" (Chapter 27). It is important that the first and crucial moral crisis Gwendolen Harleth experiences involves another woman. By rejecting identification with Lydia Glasher, Gwendolen sentences herself to a nightmarish fate as Grandcourt's wife. And so George Eliot shows us that women are a collective entity whose mutual vulnerability puts them in a unique moral relationship to one another.

Gwendolen's initial alienation from other women and her ultimate recognition that she is part of what the Victorians sometimes called "the suffering sisterhood" is conveyed metaphorically through references to birds and other small animals, and by related imagery. In Book One we are told that as a child Gwendolen strangled her sister's canary. Literature's conventional use of caged birds to represent women (6), as well as the place of this metaphor as part of a pattern of bird imagery in Daniel Deronda, indicate that Gwendolen's murderous impulse is an expression of her anger at the restrictions women endure and her determination not to be part of such a victimized group. Most of the female characters in the novel are identified repeatedly with birds or other small animals who are prey to man. Anna Gascoigne is compared to a rabbit. Mr. Lush, referring to Lydia Glasher's residence at Glasmere, says, "there the nest is, and the birds are in it" (Chapter 36). Addy Cohen, one of the "common" Jewish characters, is described as "a sort of paroquet in a bright blue dress" (Chapter 33). Mirah, a singer, is of course continually identified with birds. She is "a nightingale" and " a half-reared linnet"; her words pour out of her "spontaneous as bird-notes," and her speech has "a dove-like note of melancholy." When not associated with birds, she is compared to "a fawn or other gentle animal before it turns to run away" (Chapter 17). Later she is "a fawn that Deronda had saved from the archers" (Chapter 63).

Significantly, in the first part of the novel Gwendolen Harleth is not only an archer, but the best archer in the contest at Brackenshaw Park. Her confidence is at its zenith on the day she wins the gold star and meets the rich and eligible Grandcourt whom practically every girl at the contest is out to snare. She has yet to learn that despite her success at the game of archery she has more in common with the quarry than with those who do the hunting.

Early on Eliot has suggested metaphorically that Gwendolen does not know that she is in a cage. Commenting on the fact that she seeks an exceptional fate but has no intention of defying conventional codes, the narrator says:

> Here is a restraint which nature and society have provided on the pursuit of striking adventure; so that a soul burning with a sense of what the universe is not, and ready to take all existence as fuel, is nevertheless held captive by the ordinary wirework of social forms emphasis mine and does nothing in particular. (Chapter 5)

With the exception of this veiled reference, the first part of the novel is conspicuously devoid of images which suggest a comparison between Gwendolen and the birds and small animals which have been used to describe the other women in the novel; the lack of such images is especially striking when we remember that Gwendolen sings. However, after her female protagonist's marriage, George Eliot turns to familiar metaphors to present Gwendolen's reflections about her husband: "'He delights in making the dogs and horses quail: that is half his pleasure in calling them to him,' she said to herself. . . . 'It will come to be so with me; and I shall quail'" (Chapter 35).

Eliot is punning: Gwendolen will both learn to cower before Grandcourt and she will also learn to identify with other women, who, like quail, are prey. As her suffering becomes more acute, she is imaged again and again as a bird or pathetic animal. She looks at Daniel "like a wounded animal asking help" (Chapter 36), she realizes that to resist her husband is "to act like a stupid animal unable to measure results" (Chapter 54), and after Grandcourt's death Deronda perceives her as "a lost, weary, storm-beaten doe, unable to rise and pursue its unguided way" (Chapter 56). The narrator tells us that Gwendolen is no more able to imagine Daniel's far-reaching concerns "than the reasons why men migrate are present to the birds that come as usual for the crumbs and find them no more" (Chapter 50).

In the opening scenes of Daniel Deronda, while Gwendolen gambles at the roulette table of a fashionable European spa, an observer comments, "'she has got herself up as a sort of serpent now, all green and silver, and winds her neck about a little more than usual'"(Chapter 1). In the course of the novel she moves up the evolutionary scale from reptile to bird (and even is imaged as a mammal at times) as she finds herself at the mercy of Grandcourt who himself is presented in reptilian metaphors. In Eliot's view such development represents spiritual progress, for human beings must become part of the Feuerbachian "religion of suffering" in their struggle towards moral transcendence.

George Eliot's Feuerbachian ideas about the value of suffering apply, of course, to men as well as women. In fact it is Daniel Deronda who serves as Gwendolen's mentor, explaining to her that she can use her anguish as an opportunity to learn sympathy and self-renunciation, qualities he possesses as a result of the pain he has undergone in relation to the mystery of his birth. The message applies to both sexes, but to George Eliot as to Auguste Comte, her humanist mentor, "... woman was the purest embodiment of the emotional and moral element in human nature..."(7) While the acceptance of suffering and self-abnegation and the cultivation of the faculty of sympathy are the highest human goals, women must accept their position in the vanguard of humanity's march towards these ideals; this position is probably theirs biologically and it is certainly theirs by cultural heritage.

Gwendolen Harleth's progress towards identification with suffering womankind is conveyed not only in the novel's symbolic structure but also through her changed relationship with her mother and her sisters. She begins to display a new tenderness for her mother after the family's financial losses, and the spiritual growth which accompanied the torments of her marriage is revealed in part by the new consideration Gwendolen shows for Mrs. Davilow's feelings and welfare. Perhaps even more indicative of Gwendolen's reconciliation with women as a sex is a new attitude towards her "superfluous" sisters. She says to her mother,"... make yourself as happy as you can with the girls. They are better children to you than I have been, you know" (Chapter 44). Gwendolen gives her sisters thirty pounds. "I wish the girls would spend it on little things for themselves when you go up to the new house. Tell them so"(Chapter 44). At this stage Gwendolen "hardly understood her own feelings in this act towards her sister..." but the reader is surely meant to understand it as a step towards sisterhood with all women.

Further evidence that Gwendolen's spiritual progress is related to acceptance of her cultural heritage as a woman is its analogy with Deronda's quest. Daniel's discovery of his Jewishness gives his life the moral direction it lacked and provides him with a "vocation"--the attempt to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Similarly, in the final pages of the novel Gwendolen writes Daniel that she will remember his words urging her to be "one of the best of women, who make others glad they were born." His words become her vow, a commitment which parallels Daniel's statement to Kalynomos: "I shall call myself a Jew" (Chapter 60).

Daniel has taught Gwendolen that she can "be among the best of women" by using her suffering to inform her love for others so that she will be in a unique position to sympathize with their troubles and do what she can to offer relief. Daniel himself of course strives to live in accord with his advice to Gwendolen: men too should use suffering to learn empathy. But for women such an ideal has special import because of their traditional commitment to the good of others. George Eliot's attitude towards the roles of men and women is analogous to the relationship Mordecai insists should exist between Judaism and Christianity: "Each nation has its own work, and is a member of the world, enriched by the work of each"(Chapter 42). The importance of Gwendolen's taking her place in the community of women becomes manifest.

Gwendolen's rapprochement with the female world reveals a new sense of relationship with women on George Eliot's part, albeit one based more on celebration of their mutual suffering than on any special rapport. Yet the fact that Gwendolen has taken only the first hesitant steps towards forging new and better bonds with women by the end of the novel, and that the Meyrick's female world is presented as a setpiece, a genre painting, suggest that imbuing female community with life remained beyond Eliot's artistic range. Eliot's sense, conveyed in the remarks to Sarah Hennell and Edith Simcox, that a woman ought to feel common ground with others of her sex, becomes a moral imperative in Daniel Deronda, but this conviction is not enough to completely override the psychological barriers which, for her, stood in the way of feeling part of the world of women. The difficulties she experienced in giving artistic realization to a positive image of women as a group and to reciprocal friendship between women can be understood in terms of her consciousness of being an anomaly, a female person who by dint of exceptional gifts and perhaps good fortune had transcended the powerlessness and suffering which is the only basis she can find, even in Daniel Deronda, for bonds among women.

Footnotes

1. The George Eliot Letters, ed. Gordon Haight (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), IV, 364. I realize that "the peculiarities of my own lot" may refer in part to her liaison with Lewes, but I also think she means that as a woman she sees herself as unique. Both Ruby Redinger, George Eliot: The Emergent Self (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975) and Gordon Haight, George Eliot: A biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968) describe the peculiar alienation from women which she experienced in her youth because of her prodigious intellectuality.

2. The George Eliot Letters, II, 38.

3. Edith Simcox, "Autobiograhy", 9 March, 1880, quoted in Redinger.

4. George Eliot, The Works of George Eliot (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, n.d.), 24 vols., Cabinet edition. All further quotes from Eliot's fiction will be from this edition and will be cited within the text.

5. George Eliot, "Margaret Fuller and Mary Wollstonecraft," The Writings of George Eliot: Essays and Collected Papers (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1908), p. 331.

6. See Ellen Moers, Literary Women (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1976) for an extended discussion of the caged bird metaphor and bird imagery in general in relation to women (pp. 245-251).

7. Auguste Comte, A General View of Positivism, tr. J.H. Bridges (New York: Robert Speller and Sons, 1957), p. 271.

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"Harmonious Sisters, Voice and Verse": Women and Fiction in Milton's Early Verse

Janet E. Halley.

As women confront linguistic and literary systems, we frequently perceive that they do not allow our experience expression, and we therefore undertake to resist, subvert, reclaim words, grammars, and literary forms. We encounter difficulty partly because our experience does not precede language as a prior and pure thing for which a congruent indicator need only be found. In some ways, language was there first in us, shaping, suggesting, and perhaps producing the very experience we then find opposes it. Jane Gallop has recently commented on how feminist criticism can elide problems of meaning. In her response to Elizabeth Abel's edition of feminist essays for Critical Inquiry, she observes:

> At the very moment when she would proclaim the shift from metaphor to fact, the feminist critic cannot help but produce metaphors. I say "the feminist critic," rather than "Abel" because this is a moment that recurs in various texts of this issue, the moment when, in reaching for some nonrhetorical body, some referential body to ground sexual difference outside of writing, the critic produces a rhetorical use of the body as metaphor for the nonrhetorical. (1)

Gallop challenges us to recognize the presence of metaphor within the system of sexual identity that is usually understood to precede language, and that language, metaphor, literature are usually understood to describe.

This recognition is very difficult to confront. It challenges the stability of the very concept "meaning." It suggests that, in order to describe "The Meanings of Sisterhood on the Campus and in the Community," we must grapple with the problems of "Meaning and Sisterhood on the Campus and in the Community." This essay makes a very partial contribution to this discussion. It turns to "Milton's bogey," as Virginia Woolf called it, (2) and asks what metaphors of sisterhood Milton placed in the English literary tradition. In answering that question, it displays how Milton's own horror linguae fuels his effort to dissociate women from each other and finally to "transcend" them altogether.

1. Milton's great narrative poems--Comus, Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, Samson Agonistes--present us with single women enmeshed in male worlds. We may think of these women as objects of exchange in a "traffic in women." In The Elementary Structures of Kinship, Claude Lévi-Strauss argues that the exchange of women between men is a basic form of gift-giving, orchestrating relations of trust and rivalry between men: as Gayle Rubin points out, "If it is women who are being transacted, then it is the men who give and take them who are linked, the women being a conduit of a relationship rather than a partner to it.... (I)t is men who are the beneficiaries of the product of such exchanges--social organization."(3) Milton's narratives establish sex "triangles" composed of two men and a woman; the isolated woman is the pivot between two male powers, social groups, or ethical values. In Comus, the Lady becomes lost as she travels with her brothers to their father's house: the plot traces her capture by Comus and her restoration to her (motherless and sisterless) family. In Paradise Lost, Sin links Satan and Death--one her father and mate, the other her son, brother, and mate--in an incestuous triangle; while Eve articulates the relationship of God and Adam by being the offspring of them both (in another motherless family), while her subservience to Adam and God is intended to model Adam's filial obedience to his father. Further, she links these two triangles--the

depraved and the righteous family--when she allows Satan to tempt Adam through her. In Paradise Regained, Mary is the medium through which a divine father begets a human son. And in Samson Agonistes, Dalilah is an object of exchange through whom Samson and the Philistines conduct their national conflict.

Women bear relation to other women in only one kind of Miltonic scenario: the poet's own invocations to sister Muses. In Paradise Lost, Milton invokes the obscure figure Urania:

> .. for thou
> Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top of old
> Olympus dwell'st, but Heav'nly born, before
> the Hills appear'd, or Fountain flow'd, Thou
> with Eternal Wisdom didst converse, Wisdom
> thy Sister. . . . (4)

In Lycidas, he invokes the "Sisters of the sacred well, / That from beneath the seat of Jove doth spring," to "Begin, and somewhat loudly sweep the string" (11. 15-17) And "At a Solemn Music" begins:

> Blest pair of Sirens, pledges of Heav'n's joy,
> Sphere-born harmonious Sisters, Voice and Verse,
> Wed your divine sounds. . . .
> (11. 1-3)

By inviting these sisters to "wed" their divine sounds, Milton apparently counters the entire strategy of the traffic in women, by acknowledging a primary and sufficient relationship between two female figures. The typical male-female-male triangle establishes the relatedness of its male members. These passages instead situate the isolated male poet before two women, making him a petitioner who asks that his poetic identity be established on their using him as a conduit for their voice. The traffic relationship has been inverted.

Oddly, it is inverted only when Milton petitions for a perfect language, for "lucky words" (Lycidas, 1. 20), an "answerable style" (Paradise Lost IX. 20). In a single anxious figure, Milton associates a challenge to male primacy and autonomy with a recognition that his poem's language will not necessarily be perfectly referential. I will briefly explore the components of this figure, and then trace the steps Milton's speaker takes to evade at once both metaphor and the sister Muses.

2. Milton draws on a complex tradition when he invokes a "blest pair of Sirens, Voice and Verse." From Homer, Vergil, Horace, and numerous other classical poets, he inherits the familiar tradition of the Muses as the daughters of Jove and Mnemosyny. The topos is not stable: numbering anywhere between two and nine, these sisters are associated with many different springs, rivers, and mountains, and sometimes with various "sister arts": Calliope with epic poetry, for instance, and Thalia with comedy.(5) From a quite distinct classical tradition--this one originating in Pythagoras, evidently, and repeated in Plato's Republic X--Milton inherits the fable of the music of the spheres. Plato places eight sirens on the world's great spheres: each perpetually sings a single note as she rides along, and the harmony of the eight notes produces a song that perfectly renders the cosmic harmony. These sirens are not given any distinct characterization, and the possible link with the fatal enchantresses of Homer's Odyssey is apparently suppressed. There, Circe warns Odysseus to have his men plug their ears with wax and to tie him to the mast, for only these precautions would make it safe for him to listen to the irresistible song of these temptresses.

In the late antique period, the "music of the spheres" motif as most Renaissance scholars recognize it takes shape, and it is interesting to note that the Pythagorean

mythographers who craft it excise the latent and presumably threatening allusion to the Homeric sirens.(6) They place nine Muses, each associated with a particular genre and musical mode (7), on the spheres of a mathematically harmonic universe. In "At a Solemn Music," Milton accepts this fusion of two distinct traditions without, however, submerging or deleting the siren-allusion. Sirens, powerful female figures capable of fascinating and destroying the men who hear them, take on the roles of the Muses, riding the spheres and creating a divine and ravishing music. The suggestion of their erotic power over the poet implies an association of female sexual power with a power in language itself to deflect the male poet from his course.

A brief glance at Plato's Republic X and at Milton's "Second Prolusion" will help us to see how thoroughly Milton associates the bewitching power of sister siren/Muses with the entrancing power of language. Republic X embeds the siren fable in the philosopher's notorious repudiation of poetic imitation. Milton's "Second Prolusion" is a playfully ironic defense of Plato's extravagant fable of the music of the spheres, and is thus an ironic defense of poetry. In the myth of the music of the spheres, Milton tells his audience, Pythagoras "seems to have followed the example of the poets--or, what is almost the same thing, of divine oracles--by which no sacred and arcane mystery is ever revealed to vulgar ears without being somehow wrapped up and veiled."(8) Milton then defends poetic fiction against an implicit Platonic attack by appealing to Plato's own figure: "The greatest of Mother Nature's interpreters, Plato, has followed him (that is, Pythagoras), for he has told us that certain sirens have their respective seats on every one of the heavenly spheres and hold both gods and men fast bound by the wonder of their utterly harmonious song." In grounding his authority on Plato's, Milton makes an alliance between himself and the philosopher, a male bond established by their shared relationship to a single fable. We may observe as well that Milton would have Plato interpreting "Mother Nature" into the siren figure: the male reads a prior female and thus creates a female figure without any great distortion of the prior "reality." But "Mother Nature" is itself a metaphor. In Milton's text, figural language is present even at the outset of, and indeed prior to, poetic figuration. It is present as a female who may be not merely the object of male creativity but an uncontained and prior subject in her own right. If Plato presents a contradiction between his logical proof that poetry is false and his use of a poetic fable to advance the argument, Milton concentrates the conflict in the seemingly ubiquitous female figure. The threatening possibility of her autonomy erupts in the pointed emphasis on Homer's sirens: poetic fiction and the siren sisters together "hold gods and men fast bound by the wonder of their utterly harmonious song."

3. In at least two of the sister/Muse passages, Milton aims simultaneously to dissolve the sister bond and to evade his submissive stance vis-à-vis language. His strategy is to transform the female-female-male triangle into a male-female-male one. In Paradise Lost VII, for example, he introduces his invocation of Urania by specifying that "The meaning, not the Name I call" (1. 5). The "meaning" is almost certainly the Holy Spirit, a "minister of God" created, Milton argues in the Christian Doctrine, "probably before the foundations of the world were laid, but later than the Son, and far inferior to him."(9) This male being is the "meaning" Milton posits behind the "name" Urania, rendering a new triangle Holy Spirit-language-poet, male-female-male. For Milton, language is the fictional female whom the speaker would transcend if he could. But it is also the fictional female through whom alone he can express that wish, and by whom alone its fulfillment could be confirmed. Although the invocation discredits Urania as "mere language" at its outset, it never escapes either its form as a petition or its apostrophe to her. The female-female-male triangle can be transformed into a male-female-male one, but the new arrangement is just as unstable as the original one.

In Lycidas, too, Milton attempts to transform a female-female-male triangle into a male-female-male one. After invoking the "Sisters of the sacred well" to inspire his song mourning Lycidas' death, the speaker proceeds:

> Hence with denial vain, and coy excuse,
> So may some gentle Muse
> With lucky words favor my destin'd Urn,
> And as he passes turn,
> And bid fair peace be to my sable shroud.
> (11. 18-22)

The bold shift to a male who might "as he passes turn" explicitly breaks the sister bond and sets in motion a series of related analogical shifts. Milton recasts the Muse as a poet whose "lucky words, in future, favor his destined urn: that is, the relationship he hopes to bear to Lycidas, he also hopes a male "Muse" may later have to him. But Milton does not remove the female figure by appropriating its role: in fact, the crucial point that he would establish a network of brotherhood between poets becomes clear only when the female figure is re-introduced in a new form:

> For we were nurst upon the self-same hill,
> Fed the same flock, by fountain, shade, and rill.
> (11. 23-4)

Because she nurtured both Lycidas and the poet, a maternal nature established a brother-bond between them and, in some obscure way, supplies the reason ("For we were nurst") another poet should similarly claim brotherhood with the speaker after his death. This male-female-male triangle, like others we have seen, would establish the poets' brotherhood through a female figure, here a woman identical with the poem's pastoral setting.

But, as Samuel Johnson objected in his life of Milton, "We know that they never drove afield, and that they had no flocks to batten; and though it be allowed that the representation may be allegorical, the true meaning is so uncertain and remote that it is never sought because it cannot be known when it is found."(10) Lycidas repeatedly discloses and repudiates the very artificiality of its own pastoral setting and mode that Johnson inveighs against here. Further, because it associates these with the female, particularly with sister nymphs and sister Muses, it repeatedly finds both to be false. The male-female-male triangle, itself and effort to resolve tensions built into the female-female-male one, remains unstable because of its female member. As the poem oscillates between invocations of pastoral muses and the "sterner mood" of male dieties, it seeks to establish a stable discursive triangle and a perfectly indicative language.

4. One possible solution for the difficulties that inform Lycidas is to banish the female altogether from the world of the poem, and to establish a purely male poetic world. This is what Milton attempts in "Elegy 6." This Latin epistle to Milton's friend Diodati initially praises poetry that relies on the Muses, but it then moves with diagrammatic clarity to extoll a poetic mode that replaces female sources of inspiration with a male one. Milton apologetically praises his friend's indulgence in feasting and wine, arguing that "the chorus of the Nine has often mingled with the rout of Thyoneus" (1. 18) (that is, of Bachus), and predicting that "through a maiden's eyes and music-making fingers Thalia will glide into full possession of your breast" (11. 47-8). The Muses' erotic relationship to Diodati will be one of possession: the lyric song that will emerge from his lips will in fact be theirs. Against the erotic elegy, then, Milton sets the epic:

> But he whose theme is wars and heaven under Jupiter in his prime,
> and pious heroes and chieftains half-divine, and he who sings now
> of the sacred counsels of the gods on high, and now of the infernal
> realms where fierce dog howls, let him live sparingly, like the
> Samian teacher; and let herbs furnish his innocent diet.
> Let the purest water stand beside him in a bowl of beech and let

> him drink sober draughts from the pure spring. Beyond this, his
> youth must be innocent of crime and chaste, his conduct
> irreproachable and his hands stainless.
> (11. 55-64)

The generic requirements of epic include sexual abstinence, not only in the poet's physical appetites but also in his poetic ones. Milton calls up the example of Homer, "the spare eater and water-drinker," whose abstemiousness enabled him to carry Odysseus through "vada foemineis invidiosa sonis," through seas made treacherous by female song. If the lyric poet engages in a female-female-male triangle with siren/muses, deriving his voice from the divine yet fatal sisters who inspire him, the epic poet will evade feminine influence altogether. There is no mention of the Muses in this section of"Elegy 6": rather, the epic poet's "hidden heart and his lips alike spirat Iovem, breathe out Jove." Epic poetry will operate through a triangle purified of the female: the poet, inspired by a male god, will ex-spire a poem that is the God himself. The poet will take his place in a male-male-male triangle that frees itself of the female and of the referential failures of language at once.

In Lycidas, Milton attempts almost precisely this transformation. Soon after introducing the accustomed furniture of the pastoral setting, the poet asks in perfect conventional form:

> Where were ye Nymphs when the remorseless deep
> Clos'd o'er the head of your lov'd Lycidas?
> (11. 50-51)

He soon discovers that he has become trapped in a poetic fiction:

> Ay me, I fondly dream!
> Had ye been there--for what could that have done?
> What could the Muse herself that Orpheus bore,
> The Muse herself, for her enchanting son
> Whom Universal nature did lament,
> When by the rout that made the hideous roar,
> His gory visage down the stream was sent,
> Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore?
> (11. 56-63)

Orpheus is traded from female figure to female figure--the Mother-Muse, the violent "rout that made the hideous roar." Lesbos--each part of an ensemble associating the female voice, sisterhood, betrayal, and destructive eroticism. The entire configuration reveals the male speaker, betrayed, too, by the fiction of the nymphs. This section of the poem appears to find a resolution--often called the "first consolation"--in the vocal intervention of Phoebus Apollo, the inspiring voice of the male god of poetry himself.

Immediately after that, however, the speaker invokes the "fountain Arethuse" and "smooth-sliding Mincius," involving himself in the highly problematic pastoral once again. The poem repeatedly follows this sequence, positing and then disestablishing the purely male discursive world envisioned at the close of "Elegy 6."

5. The penultimate verse paragraph of Lycidas breaks out of this oscillation by proposing a third solution: a simultaneous transcendence of language's fictions and of gender itself. In an apocalyptic vision, the speaker sees Lycidas in "the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love," where he hears what Milton calls "the unexpressive nuptial song" (11. 176-77). An unexpressive language would sustain no division between word and meaning. Further, Milton tells us that "all the saints above, / In solemn troops and sweet Societies / ...sing, and singing in their glory move"

(11. 178-80). The pun on "move" here would overlook any distinction between the angels' physical movement and its emotional effect. In this beatific utterance, language, meaning, and understanding, speaker and audience, are to coincide precisely. It is the "nuptial song" celebrating a marriage that is, further, remarkably genderless. The absent sign--here the strictly polarized gender marks in which Lycidas is so rich--does not therefore become irrelevent. Instead, its removal forces itself on our awareness, calling our attention to the vision as an effort to achieve perfect expression and to transcend gender by the expedient of omitting mention of the female altogether.

Milton attempts the same move in his "Epitaphium Damonis," a Latin pastoral elegy mourning the premature death of Diodati, whom it represents as the shepherd Damon. There Milton elaborates further on what a genderless celestial union involves:

> Because you loved the blush of modesty (the speaker tells Damon) and a stainless youth and because you did not taste the delight of the marriage-bed, lo! the rewards of virginity are reserved for you. Your glorious head shall be bound with a shining crown and with shadowing fronds of joyous palms in your hands you shall enact your part eternally in the immortal marriage where song and the sound of the lyre are mingled in ecstacy with blessed dances, and where the festal orgies rage under the heavenly thyrsus.
>
> (11. 212-19; emphasis mine)

Because Diodati has foregone sexual union with women in his mortal lifetime, he can participate in a marriage free of the female figure and thereby purportedly genderless. The ecstatic partners in this marriage are song, the lyre, and the dance: language unites with itself in the apocalyptic cantus of the "Epitaphium Damonis." I would argue that we are to understand the "nuptial song" of Lycidas in this way: in fact, transcendence in Lycidas is made even more precipitous by the sheer absence of gender marks in its penultimate verse paragraph.

Milton's vision of a transcendent union, leaving far behind the struggles of sexual difference and linguistic reference, has proven profoundly attractive to critics of his poetry. In particular, two important articles refute feminist readings of Paradise Lost by treating the poem's desiderated transcendence of gender and language as its accomplishment, and thus prescribe "transcendence" as a reading method as well. (11) But in Lycidas Milton sternly denies any equation between the wished-for "nuptial song" and the poem before us. The poem ends with the sudden introduction of its pastoral speaker:

> Thus sang the uncouth Swain to th' Oaks and rills,
> While the still morn went out with Sandals grey. . .
>
> (11. 186-87)

This "repoussoir" figure helps us gauge important relations--as he is to the poem, so Milton is to him--and so reminds us of the presence of an artificer. The escapist vision has removed explicit mention of gender from the poem, but it has not replaced a discourse in which gender remains profoundly problematic.

NOTES

1. Jane Gallop, "Writing and Sexual Difference: The Difference Within," in Critical Inquiry 8 (Summer 1982), 801. Gallop responds to Writing and Sexual Difference, Critical Inquiry 8 (Winter 1981), ed. Elizabeth Abel.

2. Virginia Woolf, A Room of One's Own (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1929), p. 118.

3. Claude Lévi-Strauss, The Elementary Structures of Kinship, rev. ed., trans. James Harle Bell, John Richard von Sturmer and Rodney Needham (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969); Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in Toward an Anthropology of Women, ed. Rayna Reiter (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1975), p. 174.

4. Paradise Lost VII. 5-10, in John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (Indianapolis and New York: Odyssey Press, 1957), pp. 345-46. All subsequent quotations of Milton's poetry, including translations of the Latin verse, are from this edition: line numbers will be indicated in the text.

5. See Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. Willard A. Trask (New York and Evanston: Harper & Row, 1953), Chapter 13, "The Muses," pp. 228-46.

6. Curtius, p. 234.

7. See Edgar Wind, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance, rev. ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), Appendix 6, "Gafurius on the Harmony of the Spheres," pp. 265-69.

8. Hughes, p. 603.

9. Hughes, p. 973.

10. Samuel Johnson, The Life of Milton, in Johnson's Lives of the Poets: A Selection, ed. J. P. Hardy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 94.

11. See Barbara K. Lewalski, "Milton on Women--Yet Once More," Milton Studies VI, ed. James D. Simmonds (Pittsburgh, 1974), pp. 3-20; and Joan Malory Webber, "The Politics of Poetry: Feminism and Paradise Lost," Milton Studies XIV (1980), pp. 3-24. Lewalski responds to Marcia Landy, "Kinship and the Role of Women in Paradise Lost," Milton Studies IV (1972), pp. 3-18; Webber responds to Sandra K. Gilbert, "Patriarchal Poetry and Women Readers: Reflections on Milton's Bogey," PMLA XCIII (1978), 368-82.

Women and the Scottish Enlightenment.

Esther L. Barazzone.

In the late 1550's, John Knox wrote his "First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," a fiery tract directed against the Catholic regent of Scotland, Mary of Guise, and against Queen Mary of England. The ferocity of that tract and the general failure to distinguish Scottish and English history have meant that for many years Scotland was not a country of great interest to many of us in our work as historians of women.

My interest in Scotland as a ground for women's history was kindled, however, by research I did on Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832), a Scot who was a member of Parliament, a philosopher, historian and jurist. In the process of writing Mackintosh's intellectual biography, I encountered the fact of Scotland's uniqueness during the period. In addition, in this father of several daughters and friend of Madame de Staël, I found an attitude toward women which was markedly different from that which Knox's panegyrics would have led one to expect. Mackintosh had a keen respect for women's intelligence and seemed to represent more truly than his anti-feminist compatriot James Mill, a positive set of expectations for women in eighteenth century Scotland.

Garry Wills provides an accessible introduction in his Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence (1978) to the distinctiveness of the Scottish Enlightenment from both the European Enlightenment and the culture of Johnsonian England. While the Scottish Enlightenment was like the other national Enlightenments, grounded in Locke and Newton, it gained uniqueness from its desire to correct those ideas inherited from Locke and Newton which its thinkers considered either to have been erroneous, or erroneously interpreted. The intellectual relationship of Scotland to England during the period, like that of America's, bore all the traits of provincialism: while both shared deep roots with the mother culture, each also sought deliberately to distinguish themselves from the mother country. (1)

In the case of Scotland, the desire to be different from England was heightened by the Union of the Crowns which occured in 1707 and by which Scottish political independence was destroyed. The Scottish parliament was abolished and absorbed into a newly expanded English, or British, one. Most of the Scottish aristocracy moved south to London, in order to be near the new political center of power and its surrounding social glitter. A most unusual social pattern for the eighteenth century developed, in which the professional middle classes effectively ran the country, due to the fact that the aristocracy's absenteeism extended to living in another country. (2)

The uniqueness of the Scottish Enlightenment (as it was created by figures such as Adam Smith, David Hume, Adam Ferguson, Dugald Stewart, Lord Kames and John Millar) was further encouraged by the fact that the country was left with its three most distinctive national institutions untouched after the Act of Union. There remained the national Presbyterian church establishment (which was decidedly different than English Anglicanism), a national legal system based on Roman, rather than on common law as was the English one. The consequence of the difference in the legal systems was that pleading on rational grounds, rather than on grounds of custom or precedent was acceptable. Finally, Scotland was left with its national educational system, a legacy of John Knox who had insisted that each citizen ought to be able to read for him or herself the word of God.

The Scottish educational system had been established by an act of 1696 in which it was declared that each parish should have a school and a master, supported by a tax on the local citizenry. Unlike England, where it was argued that perhaps the poor ought not to be educated because it might make them unfit for work, the Scots believed that education of the young was a public responsibility. Although there were many failures, such as the vast difference between the primary education system in the Highlands and the Lowlands, there were nonetheless great successes for the system: in the Lowlands, almost universal literacy had been achieved by the mid-eighteenth century, a rate unmatched by all except Prussia and some American colonies. (3) Educational excellence in Scotland extended to the universities, which were conceived of as the capstone of a system extending upward from the primary schools. Scottish universities were internationally renowned, with only a few schools such as Leyden on the continent matching them in medicine and science. English universities had no basis for comparison with their Scottish counterparts either. Although the poorest in Scotland did not have access to the full range of educational opportunities, the lower middle classes did. Thomas Carlyle, for example, the son of a mason and builder, was educated at Edinburgh alongside James Rennie, the son of a middling farmer. (4)

The excellence and comparative universality of the Scottish educational system are two facts which make the period of obvious interest to a women's historian. If even the sons of masons and farmers could attend a university, what provision was made for the country's females? And, even if women were not given access to the university, as could be expected, what kind of education was provided in the lower levels where they were supposed, by law, to be taught?

Other facts about the Scottish Enlightenment also held the promise of interesting findings if the period were to be scrutinized from the perspective of women's history. Two important aspects of the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment stood out:

1. A key characteristic of the Scots (who might be described as moderate Whigs) was their affinity with the thought of J. J. Rousseau. Although their ideas were of different origin, they agreed with Rousseau that feeling, emotion, intuition, and not reason were the major constituent elements of human psychology. Belief and emotion were elements of the human mind as vital as rational decision making and calculation. As Garry Wills correctly pointed out about the American Declaration of Independence, it was the common possession of emotion, rather than the common possession of reason, which provided the fundamental rationale for equality and democracy and provided the basis for much of the argument against slavery.

   Since women have traditionally been viewed as even more emotional and intuitive than men, one could only wonder whether their status might not be elevated in a cultural milieu in which those very characteristics were praised as the essence of intellect and humanity? (5)

2. The Scots were committed to an historical, evolutionary analysis of culture in which the status of women was seen as a measure of civilization. Unlike most of the rest of the Enlightenment, in which social critiques were conducted in accordance with rationalist analyses of some hypothetical state of nature, the Scots were committed to the belief that there was very little which could be called "human nature" abstracted from the given historical situation in which humanity was found. Malleability was the essence of human nature.

   Although they did not give up altogether the idea that there are certain universal atemporal human characteristics--such as an innate penchant for moral behavior--The Scots, in about the same ratio as, Marx himself, gave a preponderant emphasis to man's socio-temporal variability.

   In the historical part of their work, the Scots' achievements were so great as to make them the bourgeois predecessors of Marx and Engels. Just as they advanced ideas on class, alienation, and the division of labor, they also preceded Engels in the discussion of the historical determination of the relations

between the sexes. John Millar and Lord Kames (Henry Home) specifically addressed themselves to the issue in short exploratory sketches of the subject. Kames meant to follow his preliminary piece with a longer exegesis of the same topic.

These three hints that the study of women in the eighteenth century Scotland might yield interesting results led me to undertake a broadly focused preliminary inquiry, intended to provide, at best, a sketchy overview of this impossibly large subject and to provide a report on the status of research in the field. Anxious not to begin by dealing only with the writings about women by male philosophers of the period, my reading focused initially on female education and on an attempt to discover female literary figures in this period of dazzling accomplishment in letters. The results of both searches were disappointing, as I shall discuss more fully shortly; that paucity of information in both cases, however, did provide some insight into the period itself as well as into the assumptions with which historical research on Scotland has been pursued in the last 150 years.

My final step in preparation for this talk was to examine more closely the writings of the two authors I mentioned earlier--Kames and Millar--to see what their essays revealed about their beliefs concerning women's historical efficacy. What, if any, future did they envision for women as participants in shaping the direction of society and history?

I. Women's Education

Despite a fairly large number of studies--mainly old--of Scottish education, practically nothing has been written on the pursuits of girls and women. The main reason seems to be that they apparently had little place in the public (parish or burgh) schools, either as students or teachers, as evidenced by their lack of mention in the remaining school records. Fewer girls than boys attended the parish schools and, unlike the boys in Ayrshire, for example, the girls were not discouraged from attending private schools where the primary focus was on needlework. Private schools generally mushroomed in the eighteenth century and especially in Edinburgh, where boarding or finishing schools for girls sprang up rapidly after mid-century. The primary emphasis of those schools as well seemed to be the cultivation of the ornamental and domestic qualities of young women. (6)

Although most studies of the period bear the same message about the education of girls, some hints exist to challenge the conclusion that female intellectual talents were neglected. Sir Walter Scott, to cite only one example, reported that his mother's teacher, Mrs. Euphemia Sinclair, "must have been possessed of uncommon talents for education, as all her young ladies were, in after life, fond of reading, wrote and spelled admirably, were well acquainted with history and the belles lettres, without neglecting the more homely duties of the needle and account book; and perfectly well bred in society." (7)

Perhaps the significance of girls' training for domestic responsibility ought to be reassessed, based not only on Scott's evidence, but also on our knowledge of boys' education in the eighteenth century. The emphasis on the practical was not, as it has so often been in America, necessarily in opposition to intellectual achievements. Boys' education, too, incorporated the newly elevated practical sciences which it hoped would lead to improved agriculture, business, and government. If the domestic sphere was considered to be important enough to require training, then both the status of women and the seriousness of girls' education was at least superior to what is implied by the conclusion that girls were either not educated, or educated for frivolousness. It might even be that the domestic sphere was considered to be an important arena for the genuine exercise of female hegemony, and an area which also had social and not only private significance: if it were the case that the rudiments of reading were taught at home, as might well be true since there is so little

institutional evidence to the contrary, then the teaching of reading by women to children in the land of John Knox had a social significance and their domestic duties assumed meaning well beyond their merely biological and economic aspects.

That the Enlightenment emphasis on the useful reached the sphere of women as well as men is partially attested to by the account of a new polytechnic opened at the end of the eighteenth century. The Andersonian Institute was founded at Glasgow in 1796 to provide a "complete scientific course on physics and chemistry with their application to the arts and manufactures." Courses on botany, mathematics, and agriculture were also taught. Between 500 and 1000 students attended annually. Half of the students were women. It was, a contemporary wrote, "the first regular institution in which the fair sex have been admitted to the temple of knowledge on the same footing as men."

In his comments on the Andersonian Institute, the distinguished twentieth century historian T. C. Smout revealed yet another assumption regarding Scottish education, especially for women, which should be reexamined by anyone in pursuit of the subject. Acknowledging the high percentage of female students to be "rather surprising," Smout went on to say that he held the suspicion that many of the women were not "serious" because 2/3 of the physics and chemistry courses were described as "popular" and consisted of "pleasing and interesting experiments." (8)

One must challenge his dismissal of "popular" education as "unserious." The popular mechanics institutes are recognized as having been vehicles for the self-education of lower class males in England; why shouldn't popular education also be a legitimate vehicle for the self-education of women, especially if it be clear that there is no employment at the end of the course of study? How many women--or men--do you know who would attend such a series of public lectures, or even watch them on television? Further, even if those women were participating in some kind of social exercise by their attendance, it is probably significant that their boarding schools had not left them thinking that only musicales were appropriate occasions for young ladies.

II. Literary Women and "Feminists"

Lord Cockburn, an important source for the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, stated that Edinburgh had never been much "encumbered" by "professed literary ladies." Most who did exist, he said, were "exotics." Cockburn rightly thought this odd of a society in which "literature sticks out." (9)

What Cockburn might have said was that most of those "professed literary ladies" on the model of Lady Mary Montague or Mary Wollstonecraft were not exotics, but exiles.

Scottish women were not unable or disinclined to function as salonieres, or fashionable hostesses of intellectual gatherings as their counterparts in England and France did. Those women so positioned and inclined as to play those parts--mainly aristocratic women--had moved to England. In England, they did play those roles. One, Jane Maxwell, Duchess of Gordon (1749-1813), for example, acquired a great measure of political power as a center of society for the Pittite Whig interest.

The most recognized literary Scotswoman, Joanna Baillie (1762-1851) also moved to England in her youth. Baillie achieved considerable following for her work as a dramatist and is interesting for having written a play on witchcraft in which poverty and social isolation are featured as the reasons women confessed to being, or were viewed as, witches.

Scotswomen who remained in Scotland seem to have followed a different route.

Many were among the famous song and ballad writers, in a country where Robert Burns had his greatest fame as a songwriter. Among them were Miss Eliot of Minto, Lady Grisell Baillie, Lady Ann Barnard, Elizabeth Wardlaw, and Alison Cockburn. Alison Cockburn, it should be mentioned, was also a famous Edinburgh hostess whom Sir Walter Scott compared to her French counterparts. (10)

Women of more conventional literary accomplishment, however, were indeed few, and there was need to look differently for women of accomplishment. A special group of women--those in the families of university professors--suggested themselves for this inquiry and proved to be a very promising subject, both for this paper and for future research. There was an interesting boarding system in Scottish universities; professors took students into their homes and sought to train them for their futures as statesmen around the dinner table as well as in the classroom. What of those professors' dauhgters?

John Millar was well known as the leading exponent of Whiggism and the most radical of the Scottish professors. He was married to Margaret Craig who had a reputation for high intelligence; they had 11 children who survived, 4 boys and 7 girls. Miraculously, there was room for boarders. One boarder reported an atmosphere in the Millar home in which the girls received as much encouragement as the boys did. After dinner, what must have been an informal process of education for the girls who could not go to university with their boarders, took place: all had a dram of spirits and conversed equally and animatedly around the dinner table. The stimulating quality of the girls' conversation was attested to by at least one other source. Their personal adventurousness was given further witness by the dramatist Joanna Baillie who wrote a poem describing one of the daughter's activities as an amateur carpenter. (11)

Four of Millar's daughters remained single. The two whose marriages we know about were married to university professors. They, like the celebrated daughter of the famous medical professor Cullen (who was Millar's daughter-in-law),left no further record of their lives. Another professor's daughter--Walter Scott's mother--lives only in her son's writings about her. Only Joanna Baillie, the daughter of a divinity professor, seems to have become a public literary figure.

I have long puzzled over the question of what to make of this highly educated society in which not a single Mary Wollstonecraft seemed to appear. Indeed, one should not make too much of that since there was only one Mary Wollstonecraft in England. It is significant, I suspect, that the women we know most about moved to England. To the extent that an explanation must be sought, it is to be found not only in the fact that English history has been better (or more self-centeredly) written than Scottish, but also in the social structure and resulting atmosphere of eighteenth century Scotland. There was, it seems, an atmosphere more conducive to individual female accomplishment in England than in Scotland. The likely explanation is that Scottish society was so exceptionally bourgeois that it created a negative atmosphere for female achievement. A society such as that of England in which there was a large aristocratic component may have been more conducive to female public accomplishment in the eighteenth century.

Due to the internal emigration of its aristocracy to London, Scotland was unusual for the extent to which it was a bourgeois country. It was run by lawyers, professors, and churchmen. Perhaps only Switzerland, another Calvinist land which lacked a traditional aristocracy also, could be considered comparable.

The paradox of bourgeois society, with its emblematic individualism, is that it also elevates the family as an ideal; the potential contradiction is resolved by placing individualism in the male, the locus of the family value in the female. Extending the claim of individuality to females, as Mary Wollstonecraft did in The Vindication of the Rights of Woman seems only to have happened in a conflict situation in which the claims of aristocracy and the bourgeoisie are pitted against each other,

as they were in both England and France. The internal contradictions within bourgeois ideology would stand out more starkly to a feminist when compared to the philosophy of aristocracy which championed the value of the group over the individual.

At the same time as aristrocratic society provoked the rhetoric of bourgeois individualism, it (even more paradoxically), seems to have created an actual social milieu in which women of the aristocracy had some personal liberty which was not without significance. Although that liberty, sexual and intellectual, was called "license" by contemporary bourgeois (and Scottish) critics, it seems to have prepared an ambience of acceptance for some women who, like Joanna Baillie, or even the Duchess of Gordon, did not aspire only to be a wife and mother.

In Scotland itself, all encouragement for female accomplishment seems to have been only in terms of the benefit to the family. I have been able to locate only one avowed feminist and person who did not discuss female education in terms of its benefit to the family a woman would rear. Professor John Playfair used the Edinburgh Review as a forum for a frankly feminist discussion of the writings of Donna Agnesi, a remarkable Italian woman and professor of mathematics at the University of Bologna in the eighteenth century. Playfair simply challenged those who thought women's intellect inferior to read Donna Agnesi. Other arguments supported female education by referring to the mother's responsibility for the education of the young. Although the education advocated for women was not minimal, it was to be in fields such as history, geography, philosophy, and mathematics, its focus was gained from its reference to woman's social role. (12)

III. Historical Philosophers of the Enlightenment

Both Kames and Millar wrote sketches of the history of the progress of the female sex. Lord Kames declared himself anxious to give women equal recognition in history by making himself the "historian of the ladies." Both essays, in addition to displaying great respect for the female sex, showed a strong awareness of the mutability of sex roles and their alteration throughout history. (13)

Kames' and Millar's histories anticipated Engels' essay in many ways. They trace the condition of women in "savage," "barbarian" and the various "civilized" societies. There is great indignation in their works against polygamy and the treating of women as chattel. Societies in which descent was traced matrilineally are presented as having provided superior treatment for women.

However, despite the recognition of women's abilities and contributions in these essays, and despite the pleas for the improved education of women, both sketches are intent to celebrate the status quo of eighteenth century Scotland.

An overriding obsession of Kames' work is found in his anxiousness to defend monogamy and "pairbonding" as natural and to call anything else "promiscuity" and an historical deviation from the natural course of progress which resulted from the low status of women.

Both works glorify the burgeoning capitalism which charaterized eighteenth century Scotland. The growth of commerce and luxury, they argued, had led to the improved status of women because:

1. wealth creates social classes
2. social classes create envy, and
3. envy creates jealousy, which leads to the tender appreciation of females.

Medieval chivalry, praised for its effect of softening manners toward women, was never seen as debilitating to women by its severe limitations on their activities through the ideology of chastity.

The irony of all this is that the Scots were probably the most subtle social and political analysts in the eighteenth century. In the cases of the emancipation of slaves and freedom from monarchical tyranny, they were aware, for example, that the growth of luxury springing from the spread of capitalism did not automatically lead to liberty in the political sphere. Economic progress did not bring inevitable positive results in those instances, but had to be supplemented by political action. Women, however, they believed to have already achieved an elevated status through the progress of the economy. Only in France--that hotbed of licentiousness and aristocracy--had luxury led to the debasing of women, they thought, through the encouragement of libertinism and ignoring of the family. (14)

As is so often the case, the insight of the great political theorists broke down when it came to the issue of women. More aware than most other theorists of the innate human propensity to attempt to dominate others, and of the need to curb excessive power through political action, the Scots did not even raise the issue in terms of women, to whom they otherwise devoted a fair amount of ink. Although women's status changed throughout history, and was an indicator of the level of "civilization" attained in a given society, women's roles were not seen as evolving from historically passive to historically active ones.

An incident described by one contemporary witness, Mrs. Archibald Fletcher (Eliza Dawson Fletcher), who was the wife of an activist in Edinburgh reform circles, and herself a friend of improvement further illustrates the point that Scottish concern for women in the eighteenth century, while reformist, was paternalist as well. Mrs. Fletcher told of organizing a woman's relief organization whose fate was to be roundly opposed by men of every political persuasion on the ground that no public group should be headed by a woman (15)

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It is clearly too early to draw any far reaching conclusions about Scottish women in the eighteenth century. Much research remains to be done to begin even to answer the questions raised in this paper and other questions which need to be asked. Enough evidence does exist, however, to substantiate my earlier hypothesis that James Mackintosh's attitudes toward women did reflect at least some reformist attitudes toward women among the literati in eighteenth century Scotland.

Further research on women in eighteenth century Scotland is clearly warranted both by the relative neglect of the subject and the available evidence which indicates that the theoretical assumptions employed in women's history might be enriched by attention to the Scottish case. Whether the issue be the possible importance of an aristocracy for female achievement during the period, or the ideological import to the cause of women's equality of an epistemology which is based on emotion rather than reason, the study of the Scottish eighteenth century will provide a different perspective from that available through English or continental models.

NOTES

1. See Esther L Barazzone, "The Politic Philosopher: Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832) and the Scottish Enlightenment," Columbia University, 1982, Chapter 1, for a survey of recent literature on the Scottish Enlightenment.

2. N. T. Phillipson, "Culture and Society in the Eighteenth Century Province: The Case of Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment," in Lawrence Stone, The University and Society (Princeton: University Press, 1975), II, P. 422.

3. T. C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830 (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1969), p. 479.

4. The best study of the Scottish universities and their extraordinary educational program is George Davie, The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and Her Universities in the Nineteenth Century (Edinburgh: University Press, 1964).

5. Susan P. Conrad, Perish the Thought: Intellectual Women in Romantic America, 1830-1860 (N.J.: Citadel Press, 1978) makes a similar point about romanticism and its significance for the rise of the American female intellectual.

6. William Boyd, Education in Ayrshire Through Seven Centuries (London: University of London Press, 1961), pp. 16, 67, 83-86. Other relatively recent and detailed social histories of separate counties' educational institutions have been sponsored by the Scottish Council for Research in Education. Particularly useful for this paper was Alexander Law, Education in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century (London: University of London Press, 1965).

7. Sir Walter Scott, quoted in Law, p. 181.

8. Smout, p. 476.

9. Henry Cockburn, Memorials of His Time (Edinburgh, A. and C. Black, 1872), p. 268.

10. For chatty portraits of these and many other Scotswomen of the period, see Harry Graham, A Group of Scottish Women (London: Methuen and Co., 1908). See also Henry Grey Graham, Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century (London: A. and C. Black, 1901), Chapter 12, "Women of letters." Maurice Lindsay, History of Scottish Literature (London: Robert Hale, 1977) makes brief mention of a few female literary figures.

11. William C. Lehmann, John Millar of Glasgow (1735-1801) (Cambridge: University Press, 1960), pp. 82, 413-414.

12. John Playfair, "Analytical Institutions by Donna Maria Gaetana Agnesi," Edinburgh Review, 3 (January, 1804), pp. 401-410. A standard example of the usual argument may be found in Henry Home, Lord Kames, Six Sketches on the History of Man. (Philadelphia: R. Bell, 1776), pp. 252-255.

13. Millar's essay, "Of the Rank and Condition of Women in Different Ages" appeared as the first chapter of his The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks, reprinted in Lehmann, Millar, pp. 183-228.

14. Winch, Adam Smith's Politics: An Essay in Historiographic Revision, pp. 20-23, 27, 57-69 and Duncan Forbes, "Sceptical Whiggism, Commerce and Liberty," in Essay on Adam Smith, ed. Andrew Skinner and Thomas Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), pp. 179-201.

15. Mrs. Archibald Fletcher, Autobiography (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1876), pp. 76-77.

The Education of Germaine de Staël, or Rousseau Betrayed

Madelyn Gutwirth.

Since the time when I first conceived of my title, "The education of Germaine Necker, or Rousseau Betrayed," my emphasis has altered. When I first thought about this subject, I thought I'd try to weigh and measure how Rousseau's educational ideas had been made a part of the training of Germaine Necker, and which ones, considering Rousseau's opposition to learning in women, were deliberately ignored by her mother as she trained up her only daughter to become the extraordinary woman she became. But as I read and thought, another topic came in to displace the first: and that is, how was the educational - one might better term it developmental - relationship between mother and daughter affected by Rousseau's influence?

In part, my change in focus came about because, after a near lifetime of reading about it, I began to balk at the matriphobia of the traditional version of Mme de Staël's childhood. This established version, ratified by more than two hundred years of repetition, including my own (1), is that her mother, born Suzanne Curchod, was a chilly, pious, emotionally repressive woman who raised her daughter with such unvaryingly cool severity that the child nearly broke down at the age of twelve and had to be removed from her direct care by order of the greatest physician of the time, Théodore Tronchin. I began to suspect that this version had perhaps been rigged to espouse the prejudices of the daughter. (2)

References to Suzanne Necker as a "bucket of starch" are, to be sure, not lacking. (3) But in extenuation of her apparent stiffness of manner, it has recently been discovered that she was almost entirely deaf in one ear, leaving her at an extreme disadvantage in the salon conversations that were her natural milieu. (4) But can we say anything in extenuation of the practices of so wicked-seeming a mother?

Suzanne Curchod had herself been born into the family of a Protestant pastor in the Canton of Vaud in Switzerland in 1739. An only child, she was instructed by her Calvinist father. Edward Gibbon, author of The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, who became Suzanne's suitor for a time, and was later a close friend of the Neckers, has this to say in his autobiography about her education. "In the solitude of a sequestered village the pastor bestowed a liberal, and even learned, education on his only daughter. She surpassed his hopes by her proficiency in the sciences and languages; and in her short visits to Lausanne, the wit, the beauty, and erudition of Mademoiselle Curchod were the theme of universal applause. The report of such a prodigy awakened my curiosity; I saw and loved. I found her learned without pedantry, lively in conversation, pure in sentiment, and elegant in manners;" (5) A solid and almost masculine education for the period, then, was her chief stock in life. A strong current of opinion in the early eighteenth century held that a woman's education should be her private treasure, and need have no public utility. Even the great salonnière Mme de Lambert voiced this view. (6) But of course, this idea of education as a private preserve was an upper class luxury, as became evident when Suzanne Curchod's parents died in her early young womanhood, leaving her destitute. To sustain herself, she had to abandon the leisured privilege of upper bourgeois life to become a governess, as her solid erudition fortunately allowed her to do. It is plain, as we've seen from Gibbon's account, that as a young woman Suzanne had been flattered and approved of to such a degree that she would later contend that having

a head so swelled by praises in her own youth, she would see to it that she would never let her child suffer from any similarly inflated sense of herself (Jeunesse, p.34).

In the Swiss and, later, the French society into which she moved, Rousseau's works were beginning to enjoy their impact. Suzanne belonged to the generation of Rousseau's own children, those who would regard him, somewhat grudgingly, as the disciple of a simpler, more genuine, more coherent social order than that stratified and rigid one in which they lived. Suzanne Necker had, in fact, once met Rousseau, and the philosophe professed to find her a lively and attractive young person.

The close reading of Latin, classical French, and modern works by contemporaries like Rousseau tempered Suzanne's rigorous religious training in scriptural commentary. So well had she, in fact, assimilated her religious formation that despite the close contacts she maintained in her salon with godless philosophers like Diderot and d'Alembert, her religious faith never left her.

Transported as governess to Paris by the favor of friends, Suzanne met and married the young banker Jacques Necker, who had come from Geneva himself twelve years before, and was already quite wealthy. Ostensibly to foster his career, but, I would contend, primarily to embark upon her own, she set up an illustrious salon where a host of eminent persons, chiefly male, assembled on Fridays to sup and converse. Among the regulars were such major figures of the French Enlightenment as Diderot, Marmontel, Buffon and Thomas, who was a particular admirer of his hostess. Suzanne Necker was now on her way to becoming one of the foremost women of the salons in her time, one whose intelligence and graceful conversation held their own against illustrious predecessors.

If we now look at what Rousseau had said so influentially in 1762 in his Emile about the education of children, we can begin to sense the tensions and dissonances inherent for this serious, not un-witty, learned and ambitious woman in raising the daughter who would be born to her.

The principle of Rousseau's Emile is that the imprint of nature upon the child must be developed in patience and in the fullest possible freedom, if wisdom is to be the outcome. "The truly free man wants only what he can do, and does what he pleases, says Rousseau: "That is my fundamental maxim." (7) His revolutionary pedagogic goal in a world where children were treated as small, confined and hounded adults-to-be, was to convey to the child Emile a "sense of liberty," to know his own needs and desires and their limits, to bring him gradually to a rich selfhood. This he would do via a watchful but unmeddling guidance, rather than through applied instruction. But Emile's selfhood can only be reached in solitude, for it is only "man's weakness which makes him sociable." His model boy's eyes must never rest "on the pomp of courts, the splendor of palaces, or the appeal of the theatre," warns Rousseau. "Do not take him to the circles of the great, or to brilliant assemblies." (221-222)

Rousseau's splendid, though often confused educational program for Emile was never intended as a method to apply to the teaching of girl children, and indeed, he never bothers to consider any such method until, in his narrative, his Emile nears the age of sexuality and he has to consider what sort of partner to give him. Without entering the labyrinth that is Rousseau's Sophie, or The Woman, the fifth book of Emile, in which he preaches of the nature and duties of women, we nonetheless must note certain features of his ideas on the subject.

Rousseau tries to imagine what catechism a man "who knows the development of children's minds" could make for them that could teach them simply, simple truths. As example, he gives us this exchange between a little girl and her nurse.

Nurse: Are you young or old?

Little Girl: I am young.
Nurse: And is your grandmother young or old?
Little Girl: She is old.
Nurse: Was she once young?
Little Girl: Yes...
Nurse: Why isn't she young anymore?
Little Girl: Because she got old...
Nurse: What do big girls become?
Little Girl: They become women.
Nurse: And what do women become?
Little Girl: They become mothers.
Nurse: And what do mothers become?
Little Girl: They become old.
Nurse: Will you, then, become old?
Little Girl: When I am a mother. (379.)

The little girl is to start in infancy by learning that her fate is to become a mother and then, without transition, to become old. She is to have rooted in her spirit that her rôle is to be biologically fruitful, to care for others, and then to age and die, with no distraction in this inevitable curve. (5)

Although women, Rousseau tells us, talk more, "sooner, and more easily and attractively than men, "their volubility is acceptable only if their speech is tasteful and pleasing to men." (376) A woman may be allowed the exercise of wit but, he says, "not that stupid wit which the social world values so highly (371);" she must cultivate only that wit that suits her position - by which she exploits a man's susceptibility to her charm. As for learning, he writes that "The quest for abstract and speculative truths, principles, and axioms in the sciences, for everything that tends to generalize ideas, is not within the competence of women." (386) He exhorts women, therefore, to direct themselves to the study of men, or to pleasing kinds of knowledge that develop the taste. Though they ought to have but little freedom, Rousseau would not deny them "gaiety, laughter, noise and frolicsome games" (370): but he would prevent them from ever getting their fill of them: "do not," he admonishes, "allow for a single instant in their lives that they no longer know any restraint."

Yet, he would not have mothers be inexorable, but rather gentle, toward their daughters. According to the Goncourts, the maternity of that time knew "nothing of the intimate family habits that give children a confident gentleness." Rather, "it guard[ed] about itself a hard, severe aspect. . ."(8) For Rousseau, the softness of the woman is biologically based: we know that he restored maternal nursing to popularity. The mother/child dyad is so essential to his own psychic structure that he has it rule the entire female life span, extending both forwards and backwards from it. Motherhood alone must be every woman's vocation. Rousseau tries to imagine a model training program for his Sophie to prepare her for this calling.

Germaine Necker was born on April 22, 1766, four years after the publication of Emile, to an intellectual social gadfly of a mother, ignorant of the nature of childbirth and deeply seared by her experience of it (Jeunesse, 31). Yet she was anxious to show a Rousseauian motherliness by breastfeeding her infant. She tried it for three and a half months and abandoned Germaine only in sorrowful reluctance to the care of the Flemish nurse with whom she prospered. But accounts of Suzanne's efforts even to nurse are tinged with the "bad mother" charge: the over-virtuous, overcivilized, overintellectualized mother, it is suggested, was doomed to fail at this simple motherly task. A Rousseauist verdict against her.

At 28, around the time of her daughter's weaning, Suzanne was hounded by a sense that neither her husband nor her friends knew her for her real strength of soul and will. She wrote to herself that since marrying, she had thought only of her husband, of his tastes and fancies, and of her duties. She had had to attend to a thousand

details alien to her own ideas: now she scarcely knew where her own ideas had fled. (Jeunesse, 42). Clearly, she was experiencing a depression related to the marriage, to the birth, and to her inability to nurse.

But Suzanne, as Rousseau had prescribed, kept her daughter nearby her, and intended in the fashion, also recommended by Fénelon in 1715, to teach her herself. The baby actually spoke late, for her mother mentions her recent acquisition of speech to a friend from whom she was requesting some religious books, and a bible to teach her with when she was just over two years old. Suzanne also remarked in a letter that she was raising Germaine "not like Sophie, but like Emile." (Jeunesse, 24) As a small child, Germaine was described as a gay, vivacious, brown-eyed charmer.

Nothing, writes one biographer, could be more different from Jean-Jacques' theories than the education of Germaine. (Jeunesse, 25) She points out that whereas Emile was raised in the country, far from the crass temptations Rousseau saw in cities, Germaine was almost literally raised in one of those "brilliant assemblies" that were anathema to him, her mother's salon. Her mother gave her effective lessons in Latin - she could read Tacitus - and in English, which she spoke smoothly at twelve years of age, in history, for which she had to write long resumes, in geography and in government. And, of course, Suzanne made her write: commentaries on Scripture, of course, but also word portraits of people, poems, tributes. In later life she also demonstrated some familiarity with mathematics and with theology. Her reading was certainly unusually deep in childhood and youth - she read Montaigne and Montesquieu as well as the 17th century's classical theatre: in fact, the mother transmitted directly to her daughter her love of drama, that genre especially despised by Rousseau. But Germaine's "feminine" skills were not neglected. She studied the harpsichord and drawing, as well. Even her conversational skill could be adjudged a "female" skill: she would simply exploit it beyond the limits of a graceful punctuation of the speeches of her male interlocutors to become a major speaker herself. So we see that for Suzanne Necker there was never any question of educating her daughter like Sophie: she had obviously dismissed the very idea as demeaning. Like Emile, perhaps. But evenso, as Germaine's cousin and earliest biographer pointed out, where Rousseau believed one should educate Emile first by perfecting his sense perception, Suzanne could not trust so far in the child's mere physical nature as to let moral development follow the physical. (Notice, xxii). Instead she preferred, as was then the custom more with boys than with girls, to press intellectual as well as moral training upon the child from her earliest age. In this she clearly resisted the pressures, much like those Ehrenreich and English have described in the 19th century, exerted by ideologists like Roussel and Rousseau, who held that women's intellectual development should be limited because its excessive cultivation would be downright injurious to their ability to bear and raise healthy children.

What did Suzanne Necker intend, then, in training her daughter? Certainly, she was ambivalent. She describes herself as having that very quality that the education of Sophie was designed to produce in women, a "fierce desire to please others." But this was, generally, the 18th century's imperative to women. Certainly Suzanne hoped to train Germaine's tastes so as to enable her to be a pleasing, well-informed, well-spoken women, though certainly chained no more than she herself to domesticity.

Yet, I would hold, Mme Necker really disliked Rousseau. There is an odd passage in one of her writings where she ostensibly corrects some instances of Rousseau's inflated language, but is really doing a rather effective job of sticking pins in his ideas. (10) And she detested his Nouvelle Héloise as presenting as adulterous model to young women, whereas her daughter Germaine would obtain a copy of that novel by stealth, read it secretly in a corner of the garden, and then bury it. Rousseau had expressed an especially virulent detestation of the bluestocking: Suzanne Necker must certainly be considered as one, although she is a somewhat effaced example of the type. Her husband, Jacques Necker, claimed to dislike the idea of a woman writing

he entered a room. This is almost word for word the position Rousseau sets forth in objection to women who write in his fifth book of the Emile.

A lucid, disabused, emotionally repressed woman, Suzanne had thought a good deal, if not consistently, about the fate of women. "If women," she wrote, "even the famous ones, have always been mediocre, it is because they have always used up their strength in fighting against obstacles."(11) Elsewhere she relates female mediocrity to a failure to follow through. This woman, so dismayed by women's continuing inability to achieve greatly, certainly detested Rousseau's Sophie, that paragon of emptiness, but she could never have said so openly in a milieu where Rousseau was viewed with great seriousness. Her implicit response to him was instead to train her daughter to be Sophie's near antithesis: a woman learned and principled, with an independent intelligence and a propensity to be, like Emile, free. A woman, in short, as she would have wished to be had she not been chained by her own ambiguous training as salon bluestocking and by her husband's tyranny over her aspirations. It is in this sense that we can understand her often quoted remark to her niece, when she praised Germaine's accomplishments to her: "It is nothing, absolutely nothing, alongside what I wished to make of her." (Notice, xxxiv)

For, as we recall, the mother was defeated. The generation of Germaine, for whom reading Rousseau was a joyful guilt that had to be snatched from her mother on the sly was the first generation for whom Rousseau would become an idol, a legend, and not an imperfect human being. Suzanne Necker's rigid, pleasure denying methods, which downplayed explosive displays of emotion as unreasonable, could not but cause the explosion of repressed energies that favored her daughter's move toward the liberating Rousseau. The mother for whom allowing the twelve-year-old to take a supervised walk in the Bois was a moral crisis, found herself amazed by her child's unexpected emotional intensity. A breakdown loomed, as Germaine faced the impossibility of pleasing this seemingly relentless mother. It was avoided by lifting her out of Suzanne's direct care. It is always said that the father's influence henceforth held sway with Germaine. Private lessons ceased, and life in the outdoors with a child companion were prescribed. It would appear that Emile had won, since they promenaded and practised archery together. But Suzanne's influence persisted: what the girls did with their freedom was to dress up as nymphs, write verse, compose and declaim dramas.

We have purposely set aside the chief education of Germaine Necker - that which took place in the salon, for it was there that the mother expressed most openly the greatest of maternal narcissisms in exhibiting her child as an aspect of herself in a place where children were supposed never to be. She also placed the greatest possible faith in and demand upon that child. In Rousseau's Nouvelle Héloise (V,III) he makes his heroine Julie say that she would never allow her children to enter a grownup conversation for what would it make a child think to be listened to open-mouthed by cooing adults? But Suzanne regarded this opportunity for her daughter to remain by her side on a little stool in the salon as an occasion to train her in intellectual gymnastics. It is the capacity for attention Germaine acquired there that was phenomenal: it was to remain a constant of her personality. When Catherine Huber, her companion, first met her at the age of twelve, she commented on her behavior at dinner: "You should have seen how Mlle Necker listened! She didn't open her mouth, and yet she seemed to be taking her turn at the conversation, so mobile and expressive were her features. Her eyes followed the looks and gestures of those who were speaking; you would have said she was anticipating their ideas. She was acquainted with everything, even with the political matters that were then the great topic of conversation." (Jeunesse, 31) The level of her sophisticated awareness made her a female prodigy. Yet it was not only her alertness that had been so finely honed in the salon, but her gift for salient reply as well, for the thinkers and wits would accost her and prod her to tell them what she had been reading, and made her explain what she thought about it. They were enchanted by the appositeness and brilliance of her replies.

The salon had been an educational institution in some ways since its instigation (12), but it had not before so deliberatedly educated a child. And never before had Rousseau's educational theories concerning women been more thoroughly stood on their head. For here was a hothouse intellectual woman being raised in the core of depraved society, instead of being brought up in serene retirement in the country, in solitude, by her mother, to a love of domesticity. An arresting embodiment of this dualism concerning women in society - the pure and retired versus the corrupt and sociable - is to be found in a playlet Germaine wrote in childhood called "The Disadvantages of Paris." It features a mother and two daughters, one raised wholesomely in the country and the other amidst the charms of the city. It is the latter who is her mother's favorite, because of her wit and her courtly manners, but when their mother is menaced by financial ruin, the country daughter shows that it is she who deserves her mother's esteem the more. (Jeunesse, 41)

If Germaine makes the country daughter more meritorious, it is perhaps because she feels it is not she herself who merits her mother's love, but some phantom, picus Sophie, unspoiled by the veneer of culture. She demonstrates a Rousseauesque guilt for her city ways.

Germaine will in fact espouse Rousseau's ideas far more than her mother ever did, though never, of course, going to the length of admiring his Sophie. She will embrace in him what she felt her mother lacked: spontaneity, intensity, his cult of passionate love. Her very first published work, issued in 1788, was an embarrassingly open work of adulation of Rousseau, (which nevertheless does not lack for some strong criticism, but only if one scrutinizes it in detail). Germaine Necker's Rousseauist cult of simplicity and naturalness was illustrated by her very being. Yet for Rousseau she would have seemed utterly aberrant in her unfeminine lack of self consciousness. As a young woman on the brink of her entry into adult life, she appeared to people as uncannily self-assured, "too benevolent to suspect hostility, and unsuspecting of envy." Her cousin writes, "She rejoiced as she spoke of genius, of enthusiasm, of inspiration and gave the example in her own person of their power." (Notice, xxxvii) But no one, adds the cousin, should think that she was always in a state of exaltation: "she always kept her wits about her, and her eloquence never carried her away." "Wild, vain," but "good-natured," Gibbon commented, and another observer remarked, "Charming and vivacious beyond the norms prescribed" for women, but: "A genius." (Jeunesse, 112)

Should her anti-Rousseauian education at the hands of her mother be counted, then, success, or failure? It certainly did not make Germaine herself less of a Rousseauian. Suzanne Necker, though undoubtedly conflicted in her aims, surely succeeded with her daughter in breaking through the barrier of female lack of self-confidence from which she herself suffered to a new place of personal freedom and opportunity for a woman. But as we so often rediscover still, her merely individual conquest of intellectual and moral strength for her daughter was purchased at a price to the emotions that nearly undermined the whole structure. For the daughter would need not only to achieve, as her mother wished, but to love, as Rousseau would have had her do: and the unchanged forms of loving were to prove far more problematic to her than the imperative to achieve.

Despite the long and bitter rift between mother and daughter that persisted past the death of Suzanne Necker, Germaine in the end would say, "The longer I live, the more I understand my mother, and the more my heart has need to come closer to her." (Notice, xxxvi). She could confess this only when her Rousseauist revolt had died, and she had understood her mother's admonitions to her to contain her emotions as a loving protectiveness, rather than as life-denying meanness of spirit. For Suzanne had wished to provide Germaine with a strength and steadiness sufficient to the overcoming of the obstacles in women's path, while helping her to minimize her vulnerability. But this mother learned the vanity of preachment to children, perhaps from Rousseau, but more likely from her own experience, for she wrote, "Everything we teach children prevents them from learning; they are never well taught except by themselves;

they must always see or feel things for themselves."(13) And to give this much maligned mother of one of the most remarkable women in the history of letters the last word, we have this nuanced maxim of hers on the education of the young: (14)

> We must contradict children just the way the breezes sway the trees in the springtime: only enough to foster their budding and growth, but taking care not to make any of their leaves or flowers fall from them.

NOTES

1. See J. Christopher Herold's Mistress to an Age (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1958), Chapters III and IV and before him, Albert Sorel's Madame de Staël (Paris: Hachette, 1890). pp. 5-12, as well as my Madame de Staël, Novelist (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), pp. 30-38.

2. Albertine Necker de Saussure, Mme de Staël's cousin and first biographer, a perceptive and informed writer, herself espoused the version of Germaine's childhood she had gathered from her own interviews with her and with other informants: her version teeters toward balance, in presenting the struggle between Suzanne and Germaine, but finally end up by espousing the daughter's part. This biography, which prefaces the first editions of the Oeuvres complètes of Mme de Staël, is called "Notice sur le caractère et les écrits de Madame de Staël," (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1920-21). It is referred to passim here as Notice.

3. Béatrice d'Andlau, La Jeunesse de Madame de Staël (De 1766 a 1786) (Geneva: Droz, 1970), p. 28. The remark is that of the Baroness of Oberkirch. I am much indebted to this volume for documentation, and refer henceforth to it as Jeunesse.

4. Mme d'Andlau introduces this evidence in her opening chapter.

5. The Autobiography of Edward Gibbon (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1911), p. 79.

6. Anne-Thérèse de Marguenat de Courcelles Lambert, Lettres sur l'éducation d'une jeune demoiselle (Paris: Louis, 1811).

7. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Emile or On Education (New York: Basic Books, 1979), Tr. Alan Bloom, p. 84. Other references in text are to page numbers in this translation.

8. Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, La Femme au XVIIIe siècle (Paris: Didot, 1862), pp. 6-7.

9. Barbara Ehrenreich and Deidre English, Complaints and Disorders: The Sexual Politics of Sickness (Old Westbury: The Feminist Press, 1973). See also Paul Hoffmann, La Femme dans la pensée des lumières (Paris: Ophrys, 1977), p. 146 ff. and pp. 390-391.

10. Mélanges extraits des manuscrits de Madame Necker (Paris: Pougens, 1798), p. 203. For example, "Rousseau says..., speaking of childhood; this is the time to correct the evil inclinations of man; it is not of man but of humankind he should speak, for here man is a child; or, to Rousseau's remark, "You will open your coffers in vain, if you do not open your hearts as well," she comments, "A trivial and purely verbal linking together of ideas." She comments approvingly on some of Rousseau's educational notions, as for example on his recommending that one read little, but deeply (Mélanges, II, 348-49), but what she has no patience for is his inflation - of

images and concepts - which is precisely the quality to which Germaine responds. (My translations) For her views on La Nouvelle Héloise, see Mélanges, III, 105-106.

11. Nouveaux mélanges extraits des manuscrits de Madame Necker (Paris: Pougens, Genets, 1801), I, 82.

12. See Phyllis Stock, Better Than Rubies (New York: Capricorn/G.P. Putnam, 1978), Chapters IV and V.

13. Mélanges, II, 63.

14. Mélanges, I, 238.

Loyalty and Betrayal:
Iseut and Brangien in the Tristan romances of Beroul and Thomas

Roberta L. Kreuger.

To judge from the numerous versions and many manuscripts in which it has survived, the medieval legend of Tristan's adulterous affair with the wife of his uncle King Marc was one of the most popular stories in the Middle Ages.(1) It has become a landmark of Western European culture, representing for some critics the first manifestation of romantic love (2) and, for others, the birth of guilt and self-reflection which are at the origin of the modern state. (3) Most previous studies have highlighted either the couple or the triangle, either Iseut and Tristan's fatal passion, or political tensions raised by the nephew-queen-king configuration. Critics have paid less attention to the relationship between women in the legend, and have sometimes overlooked a fourth participant in the affair, Iseut's nurse, kinswoman, and confidante, Brangien.(4) Yet Brangien's role is crucial in this patriarchal myth and her conflicted relationship with Iseut reinforces the legend's paradigms. Indeed, the paradoxical structure of loyalty and betrayal between Iseut and Brangien dramatizes the strains placed upon female bonding within early European culture.

I will draw my analysis of the women's friendship from two Old French versions, one written in the third quarter of the twelfth century by an Anglo-Norman clerk named Thomas (5) and another written by a popular entertainer named Beroul towards the end of the century.(6) I should point out that Tristan studies are simultaneously blessed with a proliferation of texts in many languages and cursed with lamentable lacunae in these extant manuscripts. The Beroul and Thomas versions both exist in fragments which recount different episodes from the latter part of Tristan's story, and we must turn to other versions for an account of the origins of Tristan and Iseut's affair.(7) Beroul and Thomas's versions also diverge considerably in style, tone, and even plot. I will not dwell on these differences, already enumerated by several scholars (8), because that would distract us from our purpose today. But only a close reading of particular passages in each Old French text will reveal those troubling eruptions of women's angry discourse which have been overlooked or edited out in subsequent translations, adaptations, and interpretations.

Joseph Bédier's adaptation and translation of the medieval Tristan texts into modern French, which I cite as a text widely read by non-specialists, exemplifies the selective presentation of Iseut and Brangien's relationship. (9) Bedier, drawing upon German and French sources, has composed a romantic love story which celebrates the passionate love of Tristan and Iseut and its violent conflict with social obligations and responsibilities. By stressing the reciprocity of the love between Tristan and Iseut, by omitting or abbreviating episodes which do not contribute to that reciprocity, Bédier's version covers over the issue of female identity. By simplifying Iseut's relationship to Brangien, he highlights her social and psychological dependence on Marc and Tristan, foregrounding the conflict of love and duty within patriarchal relationships. But in the Old French versions Iseut's lengthy monologues, and her dialogues with Brangien, abbreviated or suppressed in the adaptation, reveal the fragmentation of women's identity and the displacement of matrilineal bonds. (10)

In the episodes which precede the events narrated by Béroul and Thomas, Tristan and Iseut fall inextricably in love when they mistakenly drink a love potion which comes into their hands while crossing the channel from Ireland to Cornwall, where Tristan will deliver his uncle with a new bride. Emphasis on the love potion, and

on the consummation of their love during the stormy crossing, obfuscates the political reality of Iseut's abduction. Tristan has won Iseut for Marc, who faces pressure from his barons to marry. Moreover, Tristan has recently killed Iseut's uncle, the brother of her mother, and the equivalent for Iseut of Marc. Iseut's initial reaction on learning that Tristan killed her uncle was to seize the telltale sword and attempt to slay him in his bath. Although Bédier softens this moment by having Iseut listen silently to Tristan's reasoning, (11) the medieval versions of the story portray Iseut's rage and her psychic division by having another woman stop her, either her mother [in Gottfried,(12) and in the Old Norse translation of Thomas (13)] or Brangien [in Eilhart's version (14)].

Iseut's desire to avenge her uncle's death represents her defense of family honor and her mother's line. In raising the sword over Tristan's head, she moves to defend herself and her matrilineage as Tristan defended his kin and country by slaying her uncle.(15) As she retreats from this act, she falters in support of her matrilineal bonds, a fact emphasized paradoxically in the early texts by the presence of another woman who abets the betrayal.

In crossing the channel with the man who slew her uncle, she crosses away from her mother's line, away from the political allegiance of her kin and her parents' vassals. That she falls in love with her conqueror in transit draws our attention away from the harshness of Iseut's abduction. The magic potion she drinks with Tristan mystifies the sexual exchange of which she is the object. This exchange, moreover, is abetted by another woman. Brangien her nurse has kept negligent watch over the flask given her by Iseut's mother, which contains a potion to be drunk by the King and his bride on their wedding night. Again, woman acts as an accomplice to an act which threatens woman's autonomy.

As she enters Marc's kingdom, her identity now merged with Tristan's, Iseut's only link with her homeland is Brangien, who is also her sole female emotional support. Brangien, the faithful, takes Iseut's place in her marriage bed, sacrificing her virginity for her mistress's safety and honor on the night she weds King Marc. But, consequently, fearful that Brangien will divulge her secret to Marc and endanger her survival, Iseut sends the surrogate bride off to be killed by two servants. Even at the point of death Brangien does not reveal Iseut's secret; she cleverly asserts that her only offense was to have lent Iseut a clean smock on her wedding night. The servants, pitying her for dying at no offense, send Iseut a dog's tongue (or, in some versions, a liver) as proof of Brangien's death. Iseut becomes furious when she hears that her friend has not betrayed her, and she threatens to kill the two servants for having murdered the woman, until they confess their subterfuge. When her loyal nurse returns alive, Iseut falls at her feet begging forgiveness, and the two embrace at length. Brangien has proved her loyalty to the queen and she has cleverly displayed the equivocal discourse which she and Iseut will deploy later. (16)

Why does Iseut betray Brangien, her only source of emotional and political support? She has no reason to suspect Brangien of any infidelity, but she is right to fear the impending hostility of Marc's barons. She scapegoats Brangien for the animosity she will feel from the court and thereby threatens to destroy her only ally there. Her violent and contradictory outbursts, first against Brangien and then against her servants, reveal conflicting impulses of betrayal and loyalty; they reveal Iseut's division against herself, her internalization of threatened violence and her projection of it upon surrogates.

These incidents precede the events recounted in the fragments of Beroul and Thomas, but the women's loyalty and betrayal carry over into their narrations. In Béroul, after the effects of the love potion have worn off, Tristan and Iseut lament their loss of worldly comforts and social status in the Morrois Forest where they have escaped. Rather than question the system which oppresses her, making her "live in the woods as if she served someone else," a queen disentitled, Iseut blames Brangien.

"I am the queen, but I have lost the title
because of the potion we drank while crossing
the channel. It's Brangien's fault, who ought
to have guarded it. The miserable one!
What negligent watch she kept! She can
do nothing about it, for it was a terrible mistake...
Tristan my friend, she who brought us the love potion
to drink together has driven us to great error.
She can deceive us no more."
(Béroul, 2205-2220, translation mine).

Again, we might ask, why does Iseut blame Brangien for her loss of status? Her readiness to blame the potion and her nurse, even when the potion's effects have worn off, shows her refusal to name either Tristan or Marc as her victimizers, and reveals her increasing alienation from her own sense of honor. As she returns to the suspicious barons of Marc's court, she will be blamed and accused again by those jealous of the King's favor for Tristan.

Thomas's fragments pick up after Tristan's marriage to another woman, significantly also named Iseut, Iseut aux Blanches Mains, whose affections he abuses by never consummating their marriage because he longs for Marc's wife. The two Iseuts, so analogous as misplaced objects of arranged marriages, are rivals competing for the affections of a man who is, by his own admission, a traitor to each. Their shared name (which, as the name of Iseut's mother, is the matronym) reinforces their structural similarity and images the division of woman against herself by male desire. (17)

Within this sexually charged context, the Douce fragment of Thomas's version has preserved an intense encounter between Iseut and Brangien (Douce, 1-476). The aggressor this time is Brangien, who is furious at having been coerced into becoming the lover and potential wife of a knight rumored to have been a coward, Kaherdin, Iseut aux Blanches Mains's brother. She insults Iseut and threatens to betray her secret meetings with Tristan to Marc. Iseut, helpless and powerless without Brangien's sympathy, defends herself as best she can. The two exchange attacks and defenses in three vollies which occupy nearly 500 lines of verse. Bedier's adaptation omits this intense altercation, absent from both Gottfried and Eilhart, perhaps because it contravenes the reciprocity of Tristan and Iseut's romantic passion. Woman's discourse, paroles de femme, is extraneous to the legend's supposed central axis, the celebration of fin amor between a man and a woman. Yet, as we see so clearly in this passage and elsewhere in Thomas, courtly love is not idealized in the so-called version courtoise. It is also clear in the twelfth-century versions that we are reading not Le roman de Tristan et Iseut but the Roman de Tristan. Brangien and Iseut's altercation , as present in Thomas, reveals the vulnerable and peripheral position of woman in the political realm of Marc, Tristan, and Kaherdin.

Brangien, who has accepted with resignation her fate as Tristan's pawn and Iseut's surrogate, here rebels against her treatment. She says to Iseut,

"Curse the hour when I met you and Tristan,
your lover. I left my country for you, and
for your wanton desires, I lost my virginity;
I did it for your love, and you promised me honor...
You have shamed me for the sake of your wicked pleasure...
You have dishonored me and destroyed our love." (Douce, 2-41)

In her outburst, Brangien reminds Iseut of her attempted murder, says she wishes she had killed her, and curses herself for having trusted in Iseut's franchise (Douce, 14-30). The measure of Brangien's fury and its seeming disproportion corresponds to her powerlessness; as a woman away from her country who has given up her virginity, her honor must derive entirely from the honor of her future husband.

If he is a coward, or more accurately, if he is perceived to be a coward, Brangien will be disgraced.

Brangien's insults devastate Iseut. The poem describes her anguish at the loss of "the one she most believes in in all the world and who best preserves her honor" (Douce, 72-73). If this passage were all that remained of the Tristan legend, we would think that the poem's primary relationship had been between Iseut and Brangien rather than between Iseut and Tristan. Deprived of Brangien's support, Iseut recognizes her helplessness and isolation in words which echo Brangien's: "Alas, miserable one. A great sorrow that I live so long, for I have had nothing but ill in this foreign land" (Douce, 80-85). Instead of blaming Brangien, as she did in Béroul's text, she accuses Tristan: "Cursed be your body Tristan! I am in these straits on your account. You brought me to this country where I have always known pain" (Douce, 86-89). Iseut confesses that she could bear all the pain of her conflicted state and social isolation if only she had Brangien's love:

> Qui'n calt de Co? ben l'ai suffert,
> Et suffrir uncore le peüse,
> Se l'amur de Brengvein eüse.
> Quant purchaser me volt contraire
> E tant me het, ne sai que faire.
> Ma joie soleit maintenir:
> Tristan, pur vus me volt hunir. (Douce, 93-99)

In Iseut's woman-centered reasoning, Tristan's love brings her shame; he has taken her from her parents, deprived her of the affection of her foreign countrymen, and as a final penalty, taken away the love of "la Franche Brengven," her sustenance. She appeals directly to her friend:

> In a foreign land, without friends,
> What will I do? How will I live?
> For no comfort from anyone will I have. (Douce, 120-123)

One could argue that Iseut's emotional outburst is manipulative, aimed to bring Brangien back to her side so that she will not betray her secret to Marc. But Iseut's words ring true, for she seems at last to have properly assessed her relationship with Tristan. He has in fact carried her off from her country and dishonored her, and he has indeed taken Brangien from her by arranging her future marriage to Kaherdin. This time it is Brangien who refuses to recognize the source of her oppression. She accuses Iseut of blaming her own wickedness on Tristan, adding that if she had not slept with Tristan it would have been with someone even worse:

> Tristan ne deit estre blasme:
> Vus en devez la hunte aveir,
> Quant l'usez a vostre poer;...
> La malveste que tant amez
> Sur Tristan aturner vulez,
> Ja ço seit Tristan n'i fust,
> Pire de lui l'amur eüst.
> Ne me pleing de la sue amur,
> Mais pesance ai e grant dolur
> De ço que m'avez enginné
> Pur granter vostre malvesté. (Douce, 137-149)

Brangien does what Iseut has done twice before; she attacks her only possible emotional and political support; she blames her kinswoman rather than the manipulations of the alien knights. Kaherdin's cowardice is a false rumor fabricated by Cariado for the purpose of distancing Tristan and Kaherdin, and Brangien errs in suspecting

Iseut's dishonorable intentions as much as Iseut erred in doubting Brangien's fidelity. Furthermore, Brangien's false suspicions of Iseut once again obfuscate a correct political analysis. Brangien has in fact been traded to Kaherdin by Tristan to placate the brother of his new wife Iseut, whom he has dishonored by never consummating their marriage. For a second time, Tristan plays marriage merchant as a means of maintaining his male bond. But rather than question Tristan's motives in the match-making, as Iseut does, Brangien attacks her mistress for her wantonness.

In her second defense, Iseut appeals not to Brangien's affections but to her political acumen. As she rightly points out, a slur on Iseut's honor will gain Brangien little. She will be debased as she vitiates her mistress. The women's animosity is, in fact, exactly what their enemies are hoping for. Iseut asserts that their enemies will be overjoyed by the women's medlee:

> Brengvein, je vus afi far fei,
> Coment que vostre plai aturt,
> Que tuit cil de ceste curt
> La medlee de nus vuldreient;
> Nostre enemi joie en avreient. (Thomas, Douce, 173-179)

Iseut's analysis is correct. Marc's barons do want to see the women at odds with each other, rivals for courtly honor rather than allies. "Why are you doing this? What will you tell the king? Where will it get you?" Iseut asks. But her questions only intensify Brangien's wrath and spitefulness.

In her third attack, Brangien plainly states her purpose: to tell the king that Iseut has broken her word not to speak to Tristan, made one year ago, so that the king will punish her. She adds that Iseut ought to have been punished long ago, before her malveiste brought dishonor on the king and his people. "He ought to have cut off your nose, or otherwise fixed you so that you would be held forever in scorn. Your enemies would be delighted" (Douce, 273-276). Brangien's accusations center on Marc's dishonor and the shame of the foreign country. Her discourse echoes the misogynist utterances of court gossips and some medieval clerics.(18) In her anger, she loses the autonomy of her female voice.

Iseut's third defense trades her former logic for ire. "You judge me too cruelly! A curse on your judgement!" Cornered by Brangien's relentless attacks, having failed to convince her by love or political acumen, she plays her last card and makes the inevitable attack against the other woman:

> "You deceived me first,
> and then Tristan, and then the king.
> He would have known about it before now,
> if it were not for your wiles...
> You have covered up our affair
> with your wiles and deceits:
> you are more than me to blame,
> since you were supposed to protect me,
> and instead, you shame me" (Douce, 317-327, emphasis mine).

Iseut reminds Brangien that whatever accusation she makes against her mistress will redound upon Brangien, who was entrusted with her mistress's safekeeping. When Brangien does speak to Marc, she slyly accuses Iseut of adultery not with Tristan but with Cariado, and resorts to repeating stock antifeminist cliches about woman's deceitfulness to bolster her case (Douce, 374-376). She keeps Iseut in her power, under her hand, until Tristan placates her with assurances of Kaherdin's valor.

The asymmetry of the Tristan/Marc/Iseut triangle means that Iseut is always its

weakest point, the most distant from the lines of kin and feudal bonds. At any moment, as Iseut frequently laments, she could find herself alone in a foreign land, with no kin to defend her. Brangien's position as Iseut's nurse and handmaiden is even more tenuous, but the two women when working together are able, by manipulating both silence and duplicitous discourse, to protect themselves against their enemies at Marc's court. When allied in their ruses, these women achieve a degree of autonomy and move with an agressiveness and forthrightness that has made them models of female engin in medieval literature. But their cooperation only extends so far: when threatened externally, their trust turns easily to suspicion, and leads each to wish for the dishonor and dismemberment of the other, blaming her kinswoman for their common victimization.

The political independence that Marc asserts over his barons may evidence the rise of a centralized monarchy in Northern France in the twelfth century. The inner awareness and guilt of the lovers may mark the birth of individual consciousness within this new state. Far from subverting patriarchal structures, this myth of adultery undermines matrilineal ties, the kin and emotional link formed between Iseut and Brangien. The passages where two allies turn to become each other's antagonists, willing each other's disfiguration or death, show us at what price to female bonding the new political order is formed. Never do Marc and Tristan, compassionate king and loyal nephew, attack each other or wish the death of the other in the Old French versions.

As Iseut has predicted in the Douce fragment, the female medlee is just what the court enemies desire. The degradation of female friendship by mutual distrust and suspicion ultimately affirms Marc's power over his bride and privileges the relationship between king and nephew, which is, one might argue, the primary bond in the Romance of Tristan. The patriarchal triangle will not permit a fourth member to balance Iseut in opposing the strength of the Tristan/Marc alliance.

Iseut and Brangien's animosity should not be edited out of these texts, or happily reconciled after the squires bring Brangien back alive from the woods. The disturbing passages of anger and retribution found in the Thomas and Beroul fragments, which so detract from the reciprocity of Iseut and Tristan's love, need to be remembered, for they are, like their fragmentary texts, vestiges of the split of woman against herself, which occurs as patriarchal discourse affirms its authority in the vernacular in the twelfth-century Renaissance of Northern France.

NOTES

1. For a useful summary of the early Tristan poems, see Helaine Newstead, "The Origin and Growth of the Tristan Legend," Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, ed. R. S. Loomis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 122-133 and Frederick Whitehead, "The Early Tristan Poems," Arthurian Literature, pp. 134-144.

2. It is Denis de Rougemont's thesis that passionate love first surfaces in Western literature in the Tristan romances; Love in the Western World, transl. Montgomery Belgion, rev. ed. (New York: Pantheon, 1956).

3. For a concise analysis, see R. Howard Bloch, "Tristan, the Myth of the State, and the Language of the Self," in Approaches to Medieval Romance, ed. Peter Haidu, Yale French Studies, 51 (1974), pp. 61-81.

4. One important exception is Pierre Jonin's Les personnages féminins dans les romans français de Tristan au XIIe siècle: étude des influences contemporaines (Gap: Ophrys, 1958). Jonin's study of female characters in the twelfth-century French

Tristan romances comments extensively on Brangien's mediatory role, as well as on Iseut's depiction, but it is limited to an analysis of sources and influences.

5. Thomas, Les fragments du "Roman de Tristan," ed. Bartina H. Wind (Paris: Droz, 1960).

6. Béroul, Le Roman de Tristan,ed. Ernest Muret et L. M. Defourgues (Paris: Champion, 1962).

7. My summary of the early episodes is drawn from Roger Sherman Loomis' translation from the Old French and Old Norse, The Romance of Tristan and Ysolt (New York: Dutton, 1923); from Eilhart von Oberge's Tristrant, transl. J. W. Thomas (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1978) and from Gottfried von Strassburg's Tristan, transl. A. T. Hatto, rev. ed (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969).

8. The comparison of Thomas' and Béroul's fragments has been the subject of numerous studies. The "traditional thesis" which distinguishes a "version courtoise" (Thomas) from a "version commune" (Béroul) has been modified in the course of discussion. See Pierre le Gentil, "La Légende de Tristan vue par Béroul et Thomas," Romance Philology, 8 (1953-1954), pp. 111-129; Bartina Wind, "Elements courtois dans Béroul et dans Thomas," Romance Philology, 14 (1960-1961), pp. 1-13; Jean Frappier, "Structure et sens du Tristan; version commune, version courtoise," Cahiers de civilization médiévale,6, iii (1963), pp. 255-280.

9. Le Roman de Tristan et Iseut, "renouvelé" par Joseph Bédier (Paris: Piazza, 1946).

10. The verses of Béroul and Thomas which present confrontation between Iseut and Brangien, not present in Bédier's adaptation are Béroul. vv. 2196-2200 and Thomas, Douce, 1-476.

11. "Iseut regarda la grande épée et prit an mains le bliaut de Tristan. Elle y vit le cheveu d'or et se tut longuement; puis elle baisa son hôte sur les lèvres en signe de paix et le revêtit de riches habits." Bédier, Tristan, p. 39.

12. Hatto, Tristan, pp. 175-177.

13. Loomis, Tristan, pp. 123-128.

14. Thomas, Tristrant, p. 70.

15. For a complementary reading of this moment in the legend, see the important article by Leslie Rabine, "The Estatlishment of Patriarchy in Tristan and Isolde," Women's Studies, 7, iii (1980), pp. 19-38.

16. Iseut's attempted murder of Brangien is recounted in Gottfried's Tristan in Hatto, pp. 205-213; in Eilhart,ed. Thomas, pp. 81-83; in Thomas, ed. Loomis, pp. 135-139.

17. On the "doubling" of Iseut and the division of female identity, see Rabine, "Patriarchy," pp. 32-36.

18. On the affinities between Barngien's discourse and clerical antifeminism, see Jonin, Les personnages féminins, pp. 436-444.

Communities of Sisters
Utopian Fiction by U.S. Women, 1970-1980

Carol F. Kessler.

Over the last decade U.S. women have imagined more all-female societies than in the whole century that ended with 1970. Even in depictions of a typically-heterosexual ideal society, women as often as men are central. Where women's Utopias written before 1960 stress greater autonomy for women vis-à-vis men, after the transitional decade of the 1960s, women authors imagine women living together in communities without men, who nonetheless lead rewarding, self-actualized lives. My discussion explores these facts.

Since no writing exists in a vacuum, let's look first at the intellectual climate out of which 1970s Utopian writing by U.S. women comes. Research on social evolution, contemporary society, feminist literary theory, and women's Utopias suggests explanations for the increased interest in communities of women--both qualitatively and quantitatively. More detailed discussion of three novels--The Shattered Chain (1976) by Marion Zimmer Bradley, A Weave of Women (1978) by Esther M. Bronner, and The Wanderground (1979) by Sally M. Gearhart--will exemplify three subdivisions in U.S. women's Utopian writing between 1970 and 1980.

Questions occasionally arise about the apparent backwardness of currently envisioning women living in pastoral, rather than technological, societies. It has been a cultural assumption that technological advances lead to social improvements. But Janet Zollinger Giele in Women and the Future looks back at the evidence from human social evolution to hypothesize that hunting and gathering societies permitted women greater solidarity with each other, greater opportunity for reciprocal labor between women and men, and greater individualization of their labor than has any subsequent social organization, although post-industrial society appears to be moving back toward greater equality between women and men. Nonetheless Giele's finding suggests a theoretical explanation for such social organizations being typical of much current feminist Utopian writing. (1) We have only to recall the moronic housekeeper of Madison Avenue--ecstatic over doing laundry--to find one index of how far our contemporary technology has led women toward self-actualized, authentic, autonomous lives! The products purveyed to all-too-willing brainwashed women merely enable the raising of performance standards in increasingly restricted living spaces: for example, nearly 60% of ads in a recent survey of women's magazines urged upon a woman products for improving her physical attractiveness to men; less than 16% depicted her as a capable worker. (2) We need to realize that industrialization has freed women only partially and has enslaved her ideologically.

The emergence of a new ideology or world view, documented by sociologist Joan D. Mandle in Women and Social Change in America, reinforces Giele's theory that the trend is toward increased equality between women and men as we move beyond industrialization. But a less auspicious trend emerges from Mandle's survey of women and the economy--that women earn increasingly less than men, and typically have access to lower-paid jobs than men. In addition, cross-cultural evidence from all known societies shows that men typically dominate women. (3) Thus that the era of a women's movement provides the context for the reemergence of all-female societies as fictional Utopian alternatives should not surprise us. At least two women authors attest to their being unable to include men realistically in the kind of society they wish to create--one in which women can run their own lives, receive unambivalent social reward for personal achievement, and experience a community of

those able to share such experiences and values. (4) Psychologist Jean Baker Miller offers one explanation for the fact that men seemed not to fit: "Authenticity and subordination are totally incompatible. (5) We lack real-life models of women not being dominated by men. The typical cultural reality, as I've noted, is women's subordination to men.

Feminist theory and literary criticism are also helpful in explaining the appearance of all-female Utopias. Lately we have seen considerable interest by U.S. women in British author Virginia Woolf: her 1938 Three Guineas modestly proposes, in words heavily ironic, that women establish an Outsiders' Society to retain the values of their unpaid education as "daughters of educated men," the better to protect "cultural and intellectual liberties" and thus "prevent war," patriarchy's stress disease. (6) And in her 1981 article "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness," Elaine Showalter posits a "wild zone" of "women's culture spatially, experientially, or metaphysically," a "no-man's-land" to which men have little access--where the values of Woolf's "Outsiders' Society" are maintained. As a subordinate group women know about the content of areas forbidden to women--because such knowledge is the dominant cultural reality, but as the dominant group who defines reality, men need not know what lies beyond the pale, in the "wild zone" of women that is forbidden to them. (7) This "wild zone" informs the all-female Utopian societies, which then have the possible social function of moving the "wild zone" into the realm of shared, rather than gender-specific, reality. Thus insistence upon stressing a female viewpoint has the effect not of separation, but of communication: such works plead with an audience to know us for who we are.

But such a plea necessitates courage on the part of the pleaders. And courage needs encouragement to emerge. Psychologist Jean Baker Miller attests to the necessity of "women. . . joining together in cooperative action" to advance our interests, to use our strengths. (8) And Mary Daly in Gyn/Ecology (1978) continues: we need to create rooms of our own, "a moving time/spaceship of our own, in which the Self can expand, in which the Self can join with other Self-centering Selves." Daly stresses the mother-daughter bond as access to "true tradition (as opposed to a false, stereotyped female-negating tradition), as enabling mothers and daughters to "become sisters in struggle"; such "sisterhood, like female friendship, has at its core the affirmation of freedom. (9) What Louise Bernikov in her 1980 Among Women calls "lateral" relations--as between equals, in contrast to a vertical relation between unequals--begins to exist in the experience of 1970s women and thus to be transposed into writing. Of our common cause as women to create a world hospitable to all humanity, Bernikow writes.

> The business to be done requires cooperation and autonomy, purposefulness, the use of the whole self, both intellect and passion. It also requires courage and strength of all possible kinds. . . . Women must belong to themselves before they can be friends to one another; culture conspires against it. Female friendships that work are relationships in which women help each other belong to themselves. (10)

Such thinking stresses the individual and her internal change, her raised consciousness of herself and her place in a community. In addition to being pastoral and all-female, these Utopian stress changes in individuals minds perhaps more than in social structure. Sociologist Mandle reminds us of Simone de Beauvoir's recognizing "the importance of subjective consciousness--one's view of oneself and one's place in reality--as a crucial element in the process of social change." (11) Leah Fritz in Dreamers and Dealers, her 1979 appraisal of women's movement, notes that cooperation depends upon the desire to cooperate and necessitates a "change of heart" for those living in a society aggrandizing competition. She relies upon women's long tradition of providing nurturance to society as a strength permitting

success in establishing a cooperative society whereas men--lacking such a tradition--have failed. She posits a female Utopian vision of a "voluntary, egalitarian" society based upon "personal dedication and cooperation." (12)

Not only is the stress upon inner spiritual, as opposed to outer social, change; but it is also upon an expanded as well as a new consciousness. Lee Cullen Khanna in a 1981 Alternative Futures article, after noting the philosphical and theoretical origin of Utopian writing, indicates that in recent Utopian worlds by women "values and forms of this fiction are open and experimental, centered in human experience, and aimed. . . primarily towards the expansion of human consciousness." She quotes Doris Lessing that "the concept of a city. . . is nearly always a metaphor for the states of mind, states of being"--a view quite in accord with that of the Spanish scholar J. E. Cirlot, who defines the city as a symbol for a doctrine and for the society believing it; Cirlot reminds us of Jung's considering the city symbolic of the female principle, of a woman sheltering inhabitants as if children. Khanna observes that we find "utopia in the process of experiencing a convincing fiction. . . not 'out there' in another time and place--but within the self. (13)

Perhaps we might pause here for a moment to consider the word utopia, coined in 1516 by Sir Thomas More to name his social vision. Literally "Utopia" means "no place" or "nowhere," the label for a non-existent ideal of society. The word contains a play on the u - (no) or eu - (good) prefix, so that it implies a "good place." For clarity, one can write "eutopia,"which by contrast evokes "dystopia," the "bad place." "Eutopia" is my subject. I have deliberately omitted dystopias from the discussion. Since we live in dystopia, we need only look to see its features. Eutopia eludes our experience, hence we need to contemplate the ideal even if it be a "nowhere," a state within our minds. Yet its mental existence is nonetheless powerful--a star, often quite literally in recent science fiction Utopias, toward which we hitch our figurative wagons. But we must beware reading Utopias as literal blueprints for a future better world. Rather, we need realize they are "experiences," attempts at imagining positive possibilities in response to present needs. They are mind-looseners and mind-openers that ask us to realize the unlimited nature of human possibility.

If we recall sociologist Karl Mannheim's understanding of Utopianism as revolutionary social innovation "that breaks the bonds of the existing order," then feminism itself can be considered a type of Utopianism. (14) Literary critic Annette Kolodny claims that feminists attempt "a revolution in consciousness so thoroughgoing as to truly dislodge, not simply alter or reform, reigning belief systems." (15) If we see Utopia as a state of mind characterized by a system of social values that informs our behavior, then we can choose to conduct our daily lives as if Utopia exists here now, and by that very belief, move ourselves in bloodless revolution toward a society exhibiting the values of the Utopian state of mind. Utopia is no blueprint, but vicarious experience as well as moral and spiritual guide. (16)

To specify the Utopian territory of dreams women have dared to publish, I would like briefly to survey the Utopian output of the 1970s and place it within the historical context of U.S. women's Utopian fiction before focusing in greater detail upon the three promised examples from the 1970s. In 100 years only 3 all-female societies appeared whereas just since 1975, there have been 5. The three anomalies occured at approximately 35-year intervals, 25 years elapsing before the 5 burst forth on a near-yearly average. So difficult has it been even for a woman to imagine femaleness as intrinsic and essential to the ideal society! The three works I mention are Mizora (1880) by Mary E. Bradley Lane, Herland (1915) by Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and A Visitor from Venus (1949) by Gertrude Short--which together constitute what we have of a tradition in all-female Utopias. (17) Mizora, located in the Earth's center, entered at the North Pole, is a society where the ideal person--female, of course--is the Educator. A parthenogenetic, female chauvinist society, it provides an antidote to androcentric Victorian views of women's capacities. Herland, located

on a remote South American plateau, elevates the Mother to ideal person and establishes on a society-wide basis values consonant with nurturance. Like Mizora it is parthenogenetic and female chauvinist. Venus, the extraterrestrial home of a visitor to World War II Earth, enjoys a peaceful, loving, joyful society quite in contrast to the war-waging, hating, joyless planet visited. Close friendships between women are apparently commonplace on Venus, where sisterhood is a reality. Thus the trio of societies together exemplifies the ideals of learning, nurturing, and loving--all values stressed in 1970s works.

From 1970 to 1980, a total of 22 Utopian works by United States' women appeared. They represent three subdivisions in Utopian speculation--one which derives from the dual traditions of science fiction and fantasy, a second exemplifying the social criticism of literary realism, and a third, the classical, alternative society of social philosophy, here a metaphor of Amazonian feminist belief. The divisions are not mutually exclusive: frequently an author blends speculative traditions. Thus Bradley's Shattered Chain blends sci-fi with fantasy yet contains an alternative society--the Guild of Free Amazons; and Broner's Weave of Women concerns the residents of a "house of women," who try to live autonomously apart, but who face numerous obstacles thrown up by a dominant society, while Gearhart's Wanderground is a classical Utopia. We must consider Bradley's Shattered Chain as illustrative of 8 similar works, Broner's Weave of Women of 7 others, and Gearhart's Wanderground of 4. (18) This last group includes the 5 all-female societies written from 1975-80, but one could swell this 5 to 7 by including the 2 illustrative novels containing embedded Amazonian societies. Another classification of the 22 1970s works shows 7 focusing upon all-female societies, 8 having a female protagonist or hero, and with 7 with a male hero; thus of 22, 15--over two thirds--place women centrally. Let's now look at selected features of three works to see what this focus upon women and communities of women might signify.

The Shattered Chain is set on the planet Darkover in a future that seems more a medieval past of castles and intrigue, the "sword and sorcery" subset of science fiction. Existing within but apart from a socially conservative Darkover society is the Guild of Free Amazons, whose insistent communal autonomy bewilders outsiders to it. "The Oath of the Free Amazons" binds an adherent to be known solely as the daughter of her mother; to submit to no man save for her own desire; to appeal to no man for protection; to owe allegiance only to oath-mother, sisters, and employer during period of employment; and to be to Guild members as mother-sister-daughter, answering any appeal they should make (p. 5). The plot concerns three women--Rohana, married to an epileptic leaner, is revealed to be far stronger and more efficacious than we at first realize; Magda, an intelligence agent from another planet who--having assumed a covering identity of Free Amazon to rescue a former male lover--discovers her real quest to be the achievement of a dual allegiance--first to the Guild of Free Amazons and second to the interplanetary intelligence agency employing her; and youngest of the three, Jaella, Free Amazon by upbringing, who grows to love a man yet finds she can still maintain her autonomy. All three women by their choice live dual lives, yet each acknowledges that loyalties can exist between women "that could go deeper than love" between woman and man (p. 287). The novel demonstrates the shattering of the chain binding woman to man's will, and ends with an "opening door, swinging wide on a sunlit world and a brilliantly lighted future" (p. 287)--or so the Free Amazons imagine.

A Weave of Women, like The Shattered Chain, contains a society of women embedded in a larger society, this time present-day Israel. Unlike the Guild with residences scattered over the Darkovan planet, this "house of women" is only one, sheltering at its largest a commune of twelve adults and five young. The novel moves episodically from the experience of one woman to that of another. Throughout, the women devise new rites for affirming womanhood and their female experience; they staunchly refuse to accept defeat even as they move from birth through death to experience life and love.

Appropriately a birth opens the novel. As daughter Hava is born to mystic Simha, the eleven other women of the stone house surround and help her:

> The Shakespearean has a crisp accent and a bustling manner.
> "Did someone call the father?" she asks.
> Gloria from California did.
> At dawn the father runs into the little stone house. He has hitchhiked from his kibbutz. . . . The Kibbutz, accepting paternity, sends wishes of easy birth and warm blankets to receive the son.
> A daughter is born.
> By the time of the birth the father does not care what comes from Simha's cave, what small, furtive animal that is gnawing at her and making her scream. When the animal slides out, it has soft hair on its head and soft fur on its body. It is a daughter-puppy.
> The women prepare the mother.
> Micky, in the midst of her divorce and of her hatred, combs Simha's hair. . . .
> Tova brings the stage property--and Indian bedspread with monkeys and fruit-bearing trees. Simha is sat up on the chattering monkey and the lush tree. A garland is twined for her hair. . . .
> They surround the matrons and chant:
> "Welcome to the new mother. Welcome to the new daughter.". . .
> It is a story of women who are ceremonious and correct with each other, who celebrate sermons and hermans, birth rites, death rites, sacrificial rites, exodus rights and exorcism rites (pp. 4-6, 9).

Where Bradley provided an Oath of Allegiance, Broner offers an excommunication rite of exodus to purge a breaker of the women's commandments. The last of these is "Thou shalt not replace a trusted woman friend with a new male face" (p. 282). Reduced to a group of eleven women and three young, the commune will establish a kibbutz on the outskirts of Jerusalem over which they "raise their flag: WAYWARD WOMEN. The commune will be Havurat Shula, the friends of Shula," in memory of a member killed by rape (p. 289). They establish their "women's government in exile. Terry is Prime Minister, Simha and Hepzibah are Ministers of Rites. . . . Vered stands at Terry's right hand. Vered is left-handed. Together they are ambidextrous, mothers of The Land, lovers in this deserted Arab village" (p. 294). Terry solemnizes Simha's marriage and announces a second; she births a political party and a commune. A Weave of Women enacts the symbol of weaving, namely the creation of life, the multiplication of growth. (19) Even in the face of outer hostility, the women together find the inner strength to forge new ways of being.

Wanderground, like A Weave of Women, has an episodic structure, but unlike the previous two works it is set in no place at no time--a classical Utopia, drawing us into the experience of a new state of mind, shocking us by the seemingly impossible. The Hill Women roam their Wanderground on the far side of Danger Land. This last separates them from The City, whose violence toward women they individually had long ago chosen to leave behind. Occasionally a male Gentle escapes, calls for help, but otherwise except for flashbacks, the society depicted is all-female. The Hill Women demonstrate new language, new capacities, new rituals. They stress communication--"mind stretch" between individuals (pp. 22, 16), "gatherstretch" to unite the group (pp. 61, 103, 122). One of the most moving rituals celebrates the living of Artilidea "dying this evening at her own will and because she was ready" (p. 189). "It's the rest of us who are not ready for her to die," one woman felt (p. 189). In a huge circle surrounding her, women gather, "some recalling anger and struggle, some making

laughter ripple throughout the gathering, each singer grateful for the life of old Artilidea" (p. 190). She is asked what can she tell them: "Nothing, I guess, that you won't remember in your own time, learn in your own way" (p. 191). The group intones,

> If you so believe, then so it is:
> Ours is the task,
> Yours is the passing.
> And, although you may, you may not come again (p. 196).

Finally, "all the women leaned each on others, yet no where was there a burden--closely fitting, closely entwined, Artilidea at the center held by all" (p. 196). Hill Women value above all human unity and mutual support, from birthing to dying. As in The Weave of Women, the society has a strong sense of present containing past and future, and even in death celebrates life.

The Hill Women will continue to roam their Wanderground; the Wayward Women will weave their kibbutz; the Free Amazons will function as agents to shatter women's chains on the Darkovan planet. Well-wrought urns each, they spin on. What do we do? Are we more able to imagine and affirm femaleness as an intrinsic and essential human possibility? It is a mental gymnastic that we all--men and women--must for our best survival together learn to perform. We must be able to appreciate the female states of mind symbolized in these three works. Utopias reflect contemporary deficits, suggest social visions. They are modest proposals to guide our growth. They do not give us a blueprint showing how to rebuild society; rather they enable us to try on the state of mind, the quality of being, that we might experience if we could create an alternative society. The current intellectual climate has enhanced sisterhood; current fictional Utopias depict sisterly acts. The rest is up to us. We can believe ourselves into a pit or onto a pinnacle. In the words of Tony Cade Bambera, the most effective way to build a community hospitable to sisterhood "is to do it!" (20)

NOTES

1. Janet Zollinger Giele, Women and the Future: Changing Sex Roles in America (NY: Free Press, 1978), p. 330, Figure 6.

2. Carol F. Kessler, "'Gender Advertisements': Women in Women's Magazine Ads," presented at NWSA, Arcata, Ca, June 1982.

3. Joan M. Mandle, Women and Social Change in America (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Book Co., 1979), chap. 4, "Women and the Economy" and chap. 8, "A New Ideology."

4. See comments by Suzy McKee Charnos and Joanna Russ in Marlene S. Barr, ed., Future Females: A Critical Anthology (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green St. Univ. Popular Press, 1981), pp. 105, 77 respectively.

5. Jean Baker Miller, Toward a New Psychology for Women (Boston: Beacon, 1976), p. 98.

6. Virginia Woolf, Three Guineas (1938; rpt. NY: Harbinger, 1966), esp. pp. 106-115; see also Bernikow, note 10 below, pp. 189-190.

7. Elaine Showalter, "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness," Critical Inquiry 8 (2) 1981: esp. 200-201.

8. Miller, see note 4 above, pp. 95-97.

9. Mary Daly, Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism (Boston: Beacon, 1978), pp. 319, 347, 369.

10. Louise Bernikow, Among Women (NY: Harper & Row, 1980), pp. 141, 143.

11. Mandle, see note 3 above, p. 184.

12. Leah Fritz, Dreamers and Dealers: An Intimate Appraisal of the Women's Movement (Boston: Beacon, 1979), pp. 172, 186-87, 238.

13. Lee Cullen Khanna, "Women's Worlds: New Directions in Utopian Fiction," Alternative Futures 4 (2-3) 1981: 58-59; J. E. Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols (NY: Philosophical Library, 1962), pp. 46-47.

14. Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Revolution (1929 rpt. New York: Harvest/HBJ, 1936), p. 192.

15. Annette Kolodny, "Not-so-Gentle Persuasion: A Theoretical Imperative of Feminist Literary Criticism," in Feminist Literary Criticism, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina: National Humanities Center, 1981, p. 7.

16. Joanna Russ, "Reflections on Science Fiction," Quest 2(1), Summer 1975. pp. 44-45.

17. Mary E. Bradley Lane, Mizora (1880-81; rpt. Boston: Gregg, 1976); Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Herland (1915; rpt. NY: Pantheon, 1979); Gertrude Short, A Visitor from Venus (NY: Wm. Frederick Press, 1949).

18. See bibliography for works from 1970-1980. Editors cited parenthetically include Marion Zimmer Bradley, The Shattered Chain (NY: Daw, 1976); E. M. Broner, A Weave of Women (NY: Banton, 1978), and Sally Miller Gearhart, Wanderground (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1979).

19. Cirlot, see note 13 above, p. 349.

20. You will have noticed the absence of eutopias by women of color. The title of a recent collection--This Bridge Called My Back (Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds., Watertown, MA: Persephone, 1981)--is suggestive; if one's back is a bridge, one is not sufficiently perpendicular to be able to push a pencil over any pages. The lack of such eutopias parallels the paucity of great women artists: conditions stifled creative productivity. The quotation is from p. viii of this collection.

Short-title Bibliography of Eutopias by U.S. Women, 1970-1980

Such a list gathers many debts. I gratefully acknowledge publications and suggestions from Marlene S. Barr, Delores Hayden, Ann J. Lane, Arthur O. Lewis, Daphne Patai, Carol S. Pearson, Kenneth M. Roemer, Lyman Tower Sargent, and Lynn Williams.

Symbols key:

Formal category
1 = extraterrestrial science fiction (Bradley-group)
2 = earth-society social criticism (Broner-group)
3 = classical (Feminist) eutopia (Gearhart-group)

Gender emphasis (protagonist)
F = female focus
M = male focus

1M Alexander, Thea. 2150 A.D. 1971; Tempe, Arizona: Macro Books, 1976.

2M Babizet, Carol. The Last Seven Years. Lincoln, Virginia: Chosen, 1978.

1F Bradley, Marion Zimmer. The Shattered Chain. New York: Daw, 1976.

2F Broner, E(sther) M(asserman). A Weave of Women. 1978; New York: Bantam, 1982.

2M Bryant, Dorothy. The Kin of Ata Are Waiting for You. 1971; New York: Random, 1976.

3F Charnas, Suzy McKee. Motherlines. New York: Berkley, 1978.

1F Cherry, Carolyn Janice (C.J.Cherryh"). Fires of Azeroth. New York: Daw, 1976.

1M Elgin, Suzette Haydon. Communipath Worlds. 1969-72; New York: Pocket, 1980.

1M Farca, Marie C. Earth. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1972.

3F Gearhart, Sally Miller. The Wanderground. Watertown, Massachusetts: Persephone, 1979.

2F Holland, Cecelia. Home Ground. New York: Knopf, 1981.

1M LeGuin, Ursula. The Dispossessed. 1974; New York: Avon, 1975.

1M LeGuin, Ursula. The Word for World Is Forest. 1972; New York: Berkley, 1976.

1F Lynn, Elizabeth A. Watchtower. New York: Berkley, 1979.

2F McIntyre, Vonda. Dreamsnake. 1978; New York: Dell, 1979.

2M Marinelli, Jean. From Blight to Height. New York: Vantage, 1979.

1F Neeper, Carolyn A. ("Cary Neeper"). A Place beyond Man. New York: Scribner, 1975.

2M Piercy, Marge. Dance the Eagle to Sleep. 1970; New York: Fawcett Crest, 1971.

2F Piercy, Marge. Woman on the Edge of Time. 1976; New York: Fawcett Crest, 1976.

1F Randall, Marta. Journey. New York: Pocket, 1978.

1F Randall, Marta. Dangerous Games. New York: Pocket, 1980.

3F Russ, Joanna. The Female Man. New York: Bantam, 1975.

1F Sargent, Pamela. Watchstar. New York: Pocket, 1980.

3F Singer, Rochelle. The Demeter Flower. New York: St. Martin's, 1980.

1M Slonczewski, Joan. Still Forms on Foxfield. New York: Ballantine, 1980.

1F Staton, Mary. From the Legend of Biel. New York: Ace, 1975.

2F Wetherill, Jean. Blueprint for Yesterday. New York: Walker, 1971.

2M Wilhelm, Kate. Where Late the Sweet Birds Sang. 1976; New York: Pocket, 1977.

1F Vinge, Joan. The Snow Queen. 1980; New York: Dell, 1981.

3F Young, Donna. Retreat: As It Was. Weatherby Lake, Missouri: Naiad, 1979.

Rosa Mayreder (1858-1938) Pioneer of Austrian Feminism.

Mary-Ann Reiss.

Rosa Mayreder lived and wrote during a time of political stagnation and cultural growth. Kaiser Franz Josef ruled Austria from 1848-1916, longer than any other European monarch. He was a conservative, rigid ruler, whose intransigence made him react rather than anticipate events. Despite, or perhaps, because of the political situation, an unprecedented cultural flowering took place in Vienna at the turn of the century; "almost simultaneously in one area after another, the city's intelligentsia produced innovations."(1) A list of Mayreder's contemporaries is replete with famous names: Schnitzler, Hofmansthal, Zweig, Kraus, Wittgenstein, Freud, Klimt, Schiele, Mahler, Strauss, to name just a few.

Rosa Mayreder was born in Vienna in 1858. Her father, Franz Obermayer, was a peasant who moved to Vienna upon inheriting a Bierhaus (tavern-restaurant) from his elder brother. His first wife died in child-birth and Mr. Obermayer shortly thereafter married the governess-housekeeper whom he had hired to care for his remaining six children. Rosa was the first child of his second marriage, to be followed by six siblings. Her mother, who was seventeen when she married the 47 year old Obermayer, was more educated than her husband. He did not resent this because she always played the "dutiful wife." His power was unquestioned and life in the household revolved around his moods. His tyrannical behavior no doubt influenced Rosa's feminist views, but already at thirteen she confided to her diary: "I want to become what I have resolved to become! Nature has let me be a woman and nature has placed within my heart a striving for profound and genuine knowledge. Woman is a human being and consequently half of humanity is treated in a servile unfair manner."(2) Rosa both loved and despised her father, who, she says, represented the "strong fist". In her book of memoirs, Das Haus in der Landskrongasse, she talks of her feeling: "Besides the fear I felt toward my father, there was another obstacle to my love for him--the anger concerning the tyrannical way he treated my mother. I could not understand that fear, or even only a feeling of dependency, could be an element of love (although I was told often enough) that this was present also in the relation of man to God."(3)

The memories of her childhood show an early awareness of the role she was destined to play in the society in which she grew up. She often questioned and rebelled, but never lost her sense of humor. She tells us that her mother preferred the boys, and Rosa, because of unladylike behavior took last place among the girls. She says that her mother's feelings for her were like that of a hen who hatched a duckling whose strange inclinations and actions bring forth anger and displeasure, rather than fear or worry.

Rosa felt that many conventions of her day were ridiculous. She could not do many things her brothers enjoyed, such as ice-skating or sitting next to the driver in the horse and buggy. She also rebelled against the kind of clothing she was expected to wear--hats and gloves at all times and tight shoes to make her feet look smaller. At age twelve she was put into a tight corset. The ideal woman was one with a wispy waist and big hips and breasts. Two common beliefs of her time were that study and reading would spoil the figure and make a woman become bald (the frequency of bald men served as proof of the latter!). Stefan Zweig in his book The World of Yesterday gives a good description of the kind of life a Viennese girl was expected to live: "A girl of good family had to live in a completely sterilized atmosphere from the day of birth until (her) marriage." (4)

Rosa was a brilliant student who objected violently to the reaction of her family

and teachers whenever she excelled. Comments such as "what a shame you are a girl!" "Yes, if only you were a man!" "Well, you are the exception!" infuriated her. She writes: "No, I was no exception in the knowledge of true and right femaleness, but the harbinger of nature that the coming generation would create according to a different measure and law. The exception of today has to be the rule of tomorrow, otherwise my life will have no sense. These ideas came to me spontaneously without any influence from the outside just as they came to many women in the last century who were separated by time and place."(5) When Rosa finished school, she begged her father to allow her to listen to the private instruction given to her favorite younger brother, and to her surprise this request was granted. She says, tongue in cheek: "I had more trouble learning how to cook than learning Latin and Greek, but my brother, watching me, became an excellent cook."(6) Rosa studied painting under Tina Blau, well known Austrian artist. She began by writing articles for art magazines, soon to be followed by novels and poetry.

At the age of twenty-three she married the architect Karl Mayreder and this proved to be a long, (50 years), extremely happy marriage. She had no children but one still-birth. Referring to this event in her life she states: "I had the impression that he (my father) was indignant about my inadequacy on this point."(7)

Besides painting and writing, Rosa was also a fine musician. She wrote the libretto for Hugo Wolf's opera Der Corregidor. Later on, she and her husband became good friends of the composer. Her understanding of his genius is well documented in a series of letters Wolf wrote to her, published in 1921 under the title Hugo Wolf's Briefe an Rosa Mayreder with an epilogue written by Mayreder.

Throughout her life Mayreder was an active feminist. She served as Vice President of the Austrian Women's Organization (Österreichischer Frauenverein) and was co-editor of a feminist news journal titled "Dokumente der Frauen". After the First World War, she became an ardent pacifist. She headed a women's peace group (Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit) and later wrote Mensch und Menschlichkeit and Die Frau und der Internationalismus on the subject of peace. Recognized and honored during her lifetime, she died in 1938 two months before the advent of Hitler.

Rosa Mayreder's Role in Austrian Feminism

Mayreder's outstanding work regarding feminism is Kritik der Weiblichkeit, published in 1907. It is a collection of 10 essays, some of which had appeared as early as 1903. The book was extremely well received and translated into Czech, Swedish and English.(9) In this collection Mayreder exhibits tremendous breadth of knowledge. I have chosen three essays to give us a compendium of her thoughts. Motherhood and Culture, The Subjective Idol of Sex, and Tyranny of the Norm.

In Motherhood and Culture Mayreder discusses the burden placed upon woman as the child-bearing" part of humanity. She develops the idea that the burden seemed so great that man found it necessary to explain it by the theory of original sin. This idea ad absurdum can be found in the objection of the church of England to the use of anaesthetics in childbirth because it would ameliorate a "divinely derived punishment". She tells us that the assumption that the highest destiny lies in motherhood is refuted by the history of civilization. Motherhood has, at various times, been renounced by some women for the sake of spirituality. Such women were considered as worthy or even higher beings of their sex. She continues by saying that there is no reason why the woman, who, for the sake of intellectual interests, chooses to forgo motherhood should be reproached, but if she desires both she can have both because "Motherhood and intellectual activity do not mutually exclude each other, they merely create more difficult conditions in the life of the individual." However, Mayreder feels that women should have the right to limit the number of offspring. Thus, woman can strive for both motherhood and intellectual activity, but it takes a special kind of woman to take the first step, to challenge modern civilization with regard to the

position it has assigned to women. She says "such women, if you choose, are the 'unwomanly' ones, no doubt less useful for man and the elemental sex purpose, and yet indispensable factors of the advancing process of civilization."

In an appendix to this essay, titled "On the Training of the Child", Mayreder is concerned about the woman who makes the sacrifice of self, a scrifice no human being should be allowed to make. She states: "The old parallel which compares the training of a child with the creation of a work will no longer hold true." In modern terms, a mother cannot live the life of her child....Mayreder continues: "The woman who omits to develop any special talent of her own, because of her belief that it is possible for her to develop it in her son will, in 99 out of a 100 cases, be grievously cheated." She then exhorts women: "Why not live your own lives, dear mothers, and thereby spare your children all these immense burdens of hopes and wishes which they must bear with them under the supposition that their duty in life is to please you and not themselves!" The mother who guards, spoils and coddles her child will create a "useless being" instead of a "perfect" work. It is the child who will suffer and who will have to undergo "a stern discipline in life before it is able to rid itself of the consequences of this training." Motherhood is rewarding but the wise woman will make demands outside of the maternal sphere for an independent participation in the matters of life.

In The Subjective Image of Sex, Mayreder lists qualities attributed to women by famous men which totally contradict each other, concluding that the subjectivity of these men has created false assumptions. According to the author there are two kinds of women: the empirical woman; "the intrinsic individual (who) is a manifold phenomenon like man himself, and in her multifariousness, is as incommensurable as he," and the immanent woman; "the creature of the imagination, known to man as his own ego, since it is from this ego that she has been produced." She then discusses Wagner's image, the concept of the essentially feminine and Nietzsches' image; the glorification of feminine falsity and superficiality which she calls a most remarkable and unusual example of sex idolatry.

Continuing this theme she says that the endless variety of female characteristics which are revealed to us in the literature of the world testify to the multiplicity of images which are conjured up by the masculine imagination. The image of the bond-woman is the oldest most wide-spread and most vulgar. The image of the higher being, or chivalrous idol, can be seen in Petrarch's Laura and Dante's Beatrice. The image of the mate, contrary to general assumptions has not only been in existence since the French Revolution, but can be traced to Mary and Martha in the Bible as well as to Plato.

Mayreder then contrasts what she calls the woman-phantom created from the brain of male writers. She says: "Is not the woman-phantom from the brain of a John Stuart Mill, a Bebel, Björnsen, or a Walt Whitman equal in social significance to that of a Schopenhauer or Strindberg?" Since "woman" as an abstraction exists only in the brain of the thinker, she is absolutely dependent upon this. Therefore woman has to battle against the concept of woman as a stereotype if she wishes to achieve power as a real person in the world. She concludes by saying: "Woman as an individual exists for herself, and is as noble or as vile, as gifted or as stupid, as weak or as strong, as good or as wicked, as like to man, or as unlike him--in short as diversified as is made necessary by the very nature of the human species."

In the essay Tyranny of the Norm Mayreder classifies human beings into two groups according to their intellectual tendencies. She develops the theme that human thought is ruled by antagonistic forces: a centrifugal or revolutionary force gives the expansive impulse to new ideas, and a centripetal or conservative force tends to keep them from changing. The innovators and pioneers are those belonging to the centrifugal force, "to them we owe every forward step in the progress of the human race.... and when a people ceases to produce such individuals, it sinks into petrification and

stagnancy." However, in order to have a free society, both types of individuals are needed. "The conservative tendency affords a necessary and indispensable counter-weight." Revolution is necessary for progress but tradition is necessary for unity and continuity of achieved progress.

Mayreder is especially timely when she analyzes the women's movement. She states that the feminist movement is no longer entirely revolutionary; "that which was at first the enthusiastic dream of a few, arising from the impulses of the strong and uncommon woman, is now becoming the common property of many: it (the dream) should form a new norm in accordance with which the life of the majority is to be adjusted." She considers the feminist movement in a period of transition and feels that therefore the number of revolutionary persons have increased because "all those who were too weak to revolt or assert themselves...reveal themselves at such a time." Thus the tyranny of the norm is broken, but another one takes its place. The author becomes almost prophetic when she says: "If 'woman' in the future must be independent, self-sufficient, strong willed, energetic and the like, then the tyranny of the norm will again be brought to bear, with all the self-deception and hypocrisy in its train which generally arise when superficial standards prevail."

Rosa Mayreder, although recognized in her day, has largely been forgotten by critics and authors dealing with turn-of-the-century Austria as well as Austrian feminists. Barea mentions her briefly but only in the context of "daily life in Vienna" as described in her memoirs. Johnston is the only critic cognizant of the debt owed to her. He places her on par with her famous contemporaries and says "she ranks as one of the sanest interpreters in her generation and indeed in any generation, of the role of woman in modern society.(10) Other critics such as Janik and Toulmin, May, Marek and Schorske completely ignore her contributions. This is not surprising since Mayreder was a woman, but what is surprising is that today's Austrian feminists have, in large measure, disowned and forgotten her, For instance, Edith Rigler in her book Frauenleitbild und Frauenarbeit in Österreich, published in 1976, does not mention Mayreder in the text or bibliography. The same is true of Kordula Koepke's book Frauenbewegung zwischen den Jahren 1800-2000, published in 1979. Koepke's book mainly concerns German feminism, but she does mention some Austrian feminists. Another book Emanzipation? by Erika Weinzierl published in 1975 devotes the final chapter to the greatest Austrian feminists. Needless to say, Mayreder is not among them.(11) Today in Austria it is virtually impossible to obtain any of Mayreder's books outside of libraries, but this will soon be remedied since a new edition of Kritik der Weiblichkeit is slated to appear shortly. Hopefully, this will be the beginning of a Mayreder renaissance.

In conclusion, let us look at the book Der Aufstieg der Frau, a book of homage for Mayreder's 70th birthday in which sixty-five men and women paid a tribute to her. She is called a scholar and a fighter as well as a precursor and forerunner of women's social and cultural rights. Ironically Marianne Hainisch concludes her accolade by stating that Mayreder will continue to live in the memory of Austrian women. Several men thank her for discovering not only the needs of women but also the needs of men. Finally August Forstner summarized her life work well when he states: "Rosa Mayreder belongs to all: those for whom she lived and worked, and those who found inspiration in her work. The impact of her personality reaches far beyond the narrow framework of her native city and country. The total results and consequences of her work will not be felt in our life-time but will affect future generations."(12)

NOTES

1. Carl E. Schorske, Fin de Siecle Vienna, Politics and Culture (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1980), p. xxvi.

2. Käthe Braun-Prager, Foreword, Die Krise der Väterlichkeit by Rosa Mayreder

(Vienna: Anzengruber Verlag, 1929). p. 9.

3. Rosa Mayreder, Das Haus in der Landskrongasse (Vienna: Mensa Verlag, 1949), p. 85.

4. Stefan Zweig, The World of Yesterday (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1943), p. 77.

5. Mayreder, Das Haus, p. 172.

6. Mayreder, Das Haus, p. 194.

7. Mayreder, Das Haus, p. 100.

8. Bertha Szeps-Zuckerkandl, My life and History (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1939), p. 252.

9. The book was translated into English by Herman Scheffauer as A Survey of the Woman Problem (London, 1913). A more exact translation is "Critique of Femaleness." All quotes attributed to Mayreder unless otherwise stated are taken from this work with modifications in translation.

10. William M. Johnston, The Austrian Mind, An Intellectual and Social History 1848-1938 (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1972), p. 156.

11. Oddly enough Anna Freud is one of them. She was a well known child psychiatrist but her influence on feminism or activities in the women's movement are in no way comparable to Mayreder's.

12. August Forstner, in Der Aufstieg der Frau, ed. Käthe Braun Prager (Jena: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1928), p. 105.

Feminism as a sophisticated concept: good news, bad news, and old news.

Sylvan H. Cohen.

Sometimes I get this crazy notion that feminism may be too sophisticated for many traditional college students to grasp. That goes for female and male undergraduates, especially those who have come to academe soon after high school without extensive work experiences. This is not to say that feminism commands only one clear and one indisputable definition, even from its staunchest supporters. Feminism is now and has been a multi-faceted phenomenon. (1) There is, however, one thing that all feminists seem to agree upon: women are oppressed. (2) College students ought to be willing to consider that proposition at least as a possibility, if not as a potentially significant factor in their lives. Some do, many more that I have interacted with, particularly traditional students, do not. This puzzles me. Indeed, it surprizes me that I am even writing this essay. It amazes me that I have chosen the topic sentence that I have, for in that sentence there lurks for me an hypothesis that I need to wrestle with, that places more responsibilities on me than I had anticipated when I began this project.

My temptation in going public was to follow the "chrono-especially-logical" approach--event first as evidence, then the construction of an explanatory device that supports my analysis of these. My first draft followed that pattern. But several readings and an equal number of rewritings added up to my own "ho hums, so what else is new." The most recent revision--the one we are both stuck with temporarily--focuses more on the "explanatory device" and less on the events that precipitated its creation.

At this point veteran feminists can guess generally at the source of this novice's frustration. More specifically, it has been my own failure to get traditional undergraduate college students to confront feminism as a real and a relevant fact of life. Older students, both male and female, seem to be interested in trying to understand <u>something</u> about feminism. Most of them have heard of, seen, or even experienced the oppression of women. This did not always, or even mostly, convert them to feminist responses. But their experiences supported their suspicions that there were valid reasons for the existence of the women's movement and correlatively valid reasons that they should pay some attention to what that movement does or does not do. In contrast, the younger students seemed to be able to distance themselves from even this level of awareness; most have appeared capable of viewing feminist concerns as <u>peculiarly</u> feminist concerns. The experiential difference between the two groups, albeit based on impressionistic evidence, seemed to be my missing clue. I had proceeded under the assumption that younger was more flexible; younger was more exposed to the feminist revolt at a more impressionable time in their lives; and younger was more immersed in a time more prepared to accept the imprints of feminism. Perhaps. But I could not dismiss easily my contrary experience. My frustration, as well as my curiosity, directed me toward feminism itself as a concept, as a possible source of understanding why I had to write this essay and why I happened to choose the hypothesis I have to get the project underway.

Want to learn about feminism quickly? Ask some feminists. (3) That I did, querying females and males where I work, searching out experiences that these individuals considered vital to their conversion to feminism. My bias was to listen for experiences that had some commonality, that also submitted themselves to the typology that was beginning to become evident to me from these "interviews" and from my recent acquaintance with some feminist literature. There were some common denominators in those discussions, even though experiences were varied and various different interpre-

tations of feminism seemed to be represented. Certain elements of feminist experience stood out, interwoven as they were in the tapestries of those experiences, but analytically separable. These suggest some common elements of feminism as an existential process. (4) The elements I hypothesize seem to organize themselves into a hierarchy that describes process and likely levels within that process.

A Proposed Hierarchy of Elements of Emergent Feminism

Putting labels on complex events is often a convenience more than it is a mirror of reality. Reality tends to be complex and disputable; hence, for some of us the loss of validity in labeling is sometimes offset by the gain of insight into both complexity and bases for disputability. In that spirit, the six elements of emergent feminism have been given the following names: "awakening," "reacting," "seeking," "identifying," "committing," "interpreting." It is no coincidence that they are presented in that order, one that posits a cumulative dynamic. (See: Figure One, below.) Not that all feminists do or should proceed linearily through those elements "developmentally." Some, however, may. The few feminists that I have approached with this hierarchy have conceded that it made sense to them, that the progression tests well against their remembered experiences. But that is not the measure I propose for the potential utility of this scheme. Rather it may be more of a heuristic device than an explanatory one.

Figure One attempts to portray some of the dynamics of the Being and Becoming of feminism. It posits six basic interactive elements that can be arranged hierarchically. Those elements can, but do not necessarily, nourish the need to proceed further through the dialectic. At any stage of the process there are costs and benefits that can speed up, slow down, or arrest the progression. It appears as an individual biography, but it is shaped through exchanges with close-at-hand plus more encompassing environments. The nature of those exchanges, especially those that occur in roles in the context of discoverable social structures, admits the possibility of retrogression, even the potential for temporary or more permanent anti-feminism. Incorporating all of that, and more, strains my ability to present the dynamic schematically. Some discussion of the elements may provide the reader with the opportunity to imagine interrelationships the schematic presentation barely hints at or omits entirely.

Awakening. We are bombarded regularly with an infinite number of stimuli. Selectively we perceive, "misperceive," or miss completely these "bombardments." Our moulded biographies, in many ways, integrate selection. G. H. Mead distinguishes between what is happening (pure experience) and our analysis of this as social beings (consciousness of what is going on in experience).(5) Consciousness is, consequently, social; it is based on our existence with others and our learned capacity to take the attitude of others toward ourselves as a significant part of experience.(6) Some women and some men can see that something is wrong with differential treatment by individuals and institutions based on gender, but not perceive inequalities as inequalities. Such individuals are not yet in the hierarchy of Figure One; they are still "unawakened." One can present some of these individuals with statistical evidence, moral evidence, emotional evidence that women are not the equals of men and that the two sexes have never shared the world in equality.(7) Still anti-feminists need not tremble unnecessarily at the presentation of such information, i.e., until that information becomes a motivating part of individual and collective consciousness. Intuitively and/or conceptually, many feminists have understood the importance of this. Thus "consciousness raising" has been added to "oppression" as significant core language and insights of feminism as a movement. (8)

Reacting. It would seem that the discovery of oppression as a verifiable reality, as part of one's conscious experience, would catalyze most women and many men toward the next stage of the dialectic. Not so. Awakening may be a necessary condition but not a sufficient one. In fact, why one may stop here or "regress" off of the hierarchy

may be easier to account for than why one continues on. In many cases the costs of continuing are made very concrete by individuals and institutions with fixed investment in maintaining the status quo; thus, the benefits can take on a reciprocal abstract, utopian cast by comparison. But even in the best of circumstances, with support from "significant others," individuals and institutions, our lives are often so deeply anchored in tasks connected to survival in a complex society that, without heightened consciousness and the hope for even small successes, the matter of achieving independence from a male dominated system can slip to the bottom of one's agenda. There are many stimuli and our attention spans can weaken from the overload. (9) Perhaps this is one reason why the Spokeswoman described changing consciousness as "a lifetime struggle." (10) Credit the work and worry of missionary feminists and feminist organizations for some persons who continue to the next stage of the hierarchy of Figure One. Credit even the arrogance and stupidity of oppressors and the more obvious dysfunctional results of their oppression for some "conversions." But also credit chance, the randomization of events in the universe wherein causal chains are sometimes beyond our ken or our comprehension.

Seeking. If the reactive response to the discovery of oppression is positive (from a feminist point of view), it becomes apparent very soon that one needs information and defendable positions badly to counter pervasive anti-feminist propaganda as well as the insidious effects of previous socialization (sometimes called "interior colonization").(11) The seeking process is an effort to learn more about causes and effects of gender-based inequalities. It leads one to individuals and organizations, as well as to the popular knowledge sources of our society: books, magazines, newspapers, TV, etc. If the search does more than scratch the surface of available resources, the searcher will focus on defining the problem as a problem and increasingly more systematically. One learns intuitively and experientially that problems are not problems in the sense that they appear to us ready-made and clearly defined. Instead they are social constructs, deeply embedded and interwoven in social structures that often appear to be "givens." That can discourage some travelers through the dialectic of Figure One, especially those who are making the journey more alone than in the company of others.

Identifying. At this point one might have awakened, reacted positively to the awakening, and sought out information successfully, but without identifying with women as a real and identifiable collectivity. Certainly for a male traveler the hurdles to such identification are obvious (but hardly insurmountable). What may be overlooked is the less obvious; i.e., that women have been more discouraged than men from such an identification unless it was with women as a collectivity who accepts a) "their appropriate sphere," (12) b) themselves as "the second sex," the Other, (13) c) adopt and adapt to "the feminine mystique."(14) There are costs to identifying with women as an oppressed collectivity, with women as proclaimed feminists, with women who offer the vision of and the chance for sisterhood. Those costs can be great for individuals who are especially vulnerable to powerful social forces in their immediate environments. The costs are equally great for some women who rush forward headlong toward feminism without the background for this, including the capacity to anticipate costs.(15) But the costs are even greater, as I see this, for women who have arrived thus far in the dialectic, mostly intellectually, who cannot make the necessary identification that evetually leads to sisterhood or those who try to make such identification but are rejected somehow, for any number of possible reasons. (16)

Committing. This "step" is implied earlier in the dialectic, perhaps throughout (as are most of these steps). Certainly there are costs that have been noted already before this point. But my argument is that a stronger and a potentially different commitment follows the previous step to "identification." The personal sacrifice to do something about some or many inequalities is now freely given. One takes risks at this point that one realizes clearly are risks. This is a "proactive response" to women's oppression rather than the more "reactive" one that follows "awakening." One is now a full-time emerging feminist, rather than a part-time one. One is propelled

further at this point by deeds as well as by cognitive and affective attachment to a cause. However, one can turn back here or anywhere in the process or postpone progress further and "backslide" eventually as the momentum for deeper commitment is reversed.

Interpreting. This may be "the turning point" in emerging feminism. It is the beginning of reinterpreting events, circumstances, situations, relationships, etc., through an emerging feminist perspective. Feminism is emerging as both ideology and identity. Eventually one might think and feel as Lindsy Van Gelder when she writes: (17)

> I'd define a person with a feminist identity as someone who looks at the world--movies, books, music, sport, clothes, relationships, and so on--with a consistently political eye; who feels a familial connection with the Women's Movement; and who views her (or perhaps his) own personal breathing space as being inextricably bound up with the surrounding level of feminine consciousness.

Such a strong statement suggests that its author has traveled through the stages outlined in Figure One more than once or twice. Thus, it seems natural for her to tell her readers: "Like many of you--maybe most of you--feminism has transformed my daily life in ways that being, say, a Democrat, a New Yorker, or even a writer has not."(18) That transformation appears to be both the process of achieving feminist identity, i.e., learning to see the world from a feminist perspective, and the totality of behavior linked to that weltanschauung.

The elements described thus far can be thought of as one level of emergent feminism. The second plane could be a return through those elements based on new insights, new experiences, new emotions, new alternatives, new choices, etc. The same goes for the third plane, the fourth, and possible future levels of feminist identity. Perhaps the entire dialectic begins with what Vivian Gornick describes as the examination of one's personal experiences in the light of sexism. (19) But the journey for each traveler who continues expands to take in more people, more ideas, more concerns. Those "higher" planes can be imagined readily in this observation by Gornick: (20)

> We talk about reaching the people. We forget: we are the people. Every feminist wittingly or unwittingly, is an organizer at large among the people. Every feminist every moment of her principled, deciding life is increasing, osmotically, the social atmosphere in which the gathering force for change takes root.

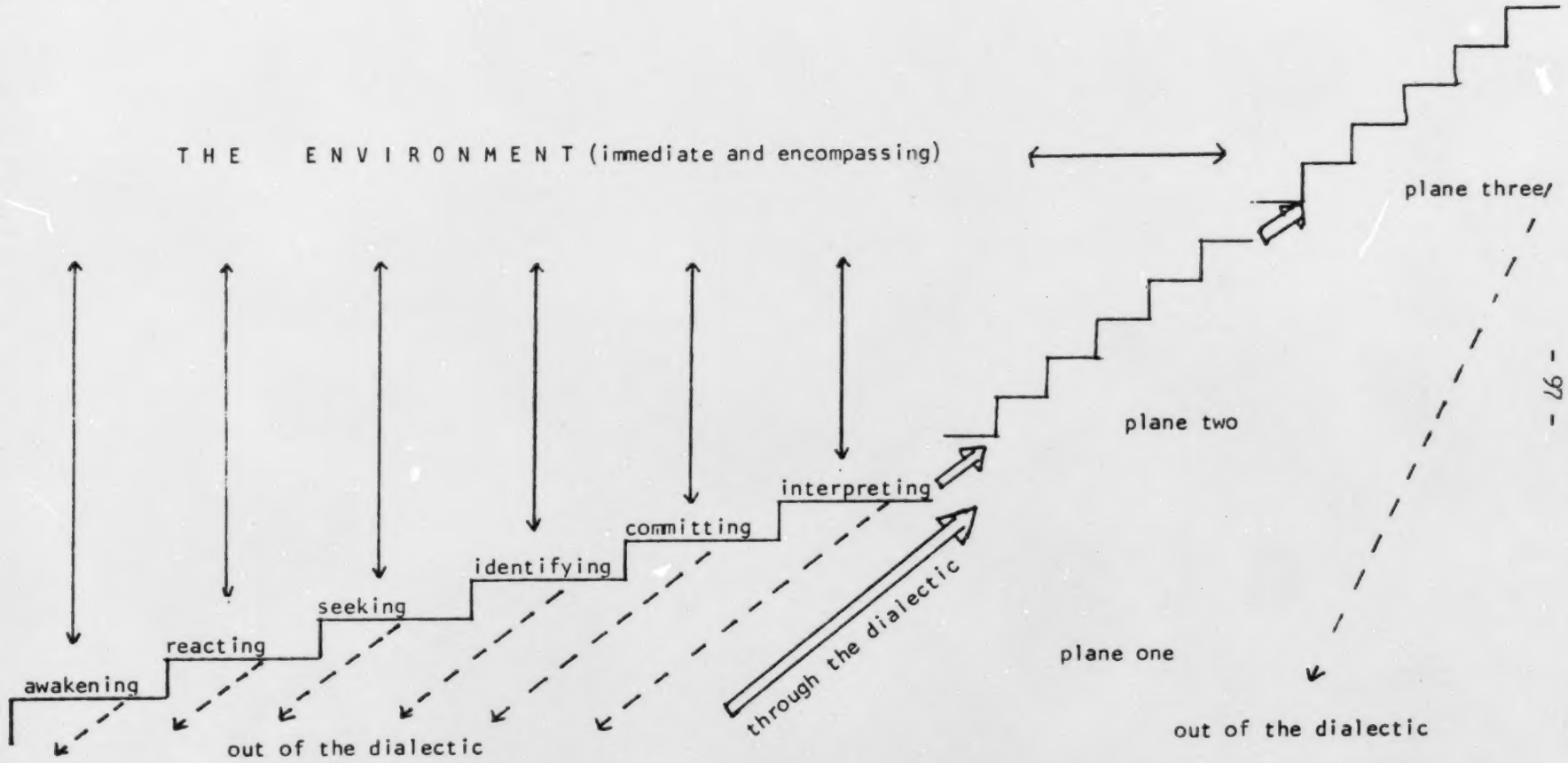
Those are dizzying heights! Maybe they should be. But that vision, as necessary as it is for those who own a feminist identity and a feminist ideology, may be empty bravado without the experiential content suggested by Figure One or something analogous to it. That possibility has made the topic sentence of this essay easier for me to understand, maybe even to accept--but as a challenge. I return now to my original hypothesis and to some of the frustrations that catalyzed its creation.

Some Selective Story Telling and the Proposed Dialectic

So much for the explication of the proposed hierarchy of elements of emergent feminism; the task now is to connect that dialectic to the events that preceded and precipitated it. (21) I have observed those events recently where I ply my trade as college professor. Any or all of these things could have happened at any or all institutions of higher education, so this is not a singling out of mine. How shall I begin? How shall I organize a handful of shortened stories that may be held together so tentatively and so tenuously? My choice is partition the reporting three ways: good news, bad news, and old news; but to present that "news" in reverse order.

Figure One

A HIERARCHY OF ELEMENTS OF EMERGENT FEMINISM



The dialectic toward feminist identify --
An individual's narrowing the gap and healing the split between what one believes and how one acts.

Old news. The oldest thing that I think I know about the inequality of the sexes is the history of the inequalities. But the most frightening thing that I know I know about that old news is that it is still accepted by many individuals as natural. Kate Millet addresses my "most frightening thing" as follows: (22)

> Perhaps patriarchy's greatest psychological weapon is simply universality and longevity. A referent scarcely exists with which it might be contrasted or by which it might be confuted. While the same might be said of class, patriarchy has a still more tenacious or powerful hold through its successful habit of passing itself off as nature.

Patriarchy, as Millet uses this concept, is a system of power-structured relationships in which men tend to be the dominant group and women tend to be the dominated group. (23) The superordinate-subordinate arrangement, consequently, is a powerful weapon psychologically--for both men and women as I interpret Millet--because of its pervasiveness and its staying power; further, it sharpens continuously its psychological cutting edge because it is legitimated by being seen as "the natural order of things." My guess is that this combination of factors is one significant explanation why some individuals cannot even imagine the existence of any of the elements of the dialectic of Figure One; while some who can, may be terrified by the "deviance" of their own imaginations. Let us examine one example of this kind of old news.

Recently I was asked by one of our professors to present a three-class-period section on some issues of gender in organization to his senior seminar class in management. Before the class sessions were actually underway I had this professor, the regular course instructor, survey the class using a fairly simple and straightforward questionnaire. I believed that the responses might provide me with some insights on how these seniors,almost ready to embark upon careers in management, regarded women compared to men as possible managers. Students were asked to respond to 25 statements on a seven point scale from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." A sample of those statements follows:

> In the field of management, women in general tend to be less committed to their careers than men.
>
> When it comes to maximizing profit for the enterprise, it is usually more desirable for men to have a job that requires great responsibility than for women to have this kind of a job.
>
> The possibility of pregnancy makes women generally less desirable as potential managers than men.
>
> It seems to be Nature's plan (or some other natural explanation) that working women get their strongest identity from their home-life, and working men get their strongest identity from their jobs.
>
> Men are naturally more aggressive than women and in this respect, at least, they can adapt to being managers more easily than women can.
>
> More often than not, women do not like to work for (that is be supervised by) other women.
>
> The best way to solve the problem of getting more women into management (if indeed, it is a problem) is to be patient and to depend upon education almost exclusively.
>
> In the interest of preserving the family in America (which is

or should be a high priority), it may be necessary to re-emphasize, once again, the importance of the male as the family bread winner.

Special recruiting for women managers sometimes leads to a woman getting a job that an equally qualified male might have gotten. This is, then, an example of "reverse discrimination."

This was a senior class in management that had heard more than once or twice about the glories of the theoretically neutral free enterprise system supposedly fueled by the profit motive and kept honest by competition. This is, they have been told often, a system based on results where personal success is closely correlated with merit. In such a system, gender would and should not be a factor in selecting individuals for management responsibility. Further, they have learned about such rhetoric in a fairly meritocratic ambience where they know or suspect that female students have significantly higher grades than male students.

Then why did so many members of the class tend to agree with so many of those outrageous statements? Why did male students agree much more strongly than females with the dangerous-to-women stereotype that is not even disguised in this questionnaire? What does it mean for women that the changes are that more of the men in that class will be top management candidates than women? Those statements were used as the basis of some class dialogue. What seemed to happen was that the men felt strongly about some of the issues reflected in the questionnaire, gave their reasons for their beliefs, and dominated the dialogue. Intensity, it appeared, was their lot, much more so than it was for the women.

Management students, like "real" managers, get used to the idea of superordinate-subordinate relationships as a so-called natural consequence of organization. Hence, they are conditioned generally to accept such relationships. Ah, but those relationships are supposed to be based upon some reasonable measures of merit. The old news may be that they do not have to lose their innocence and learn about the gender content that somehow gets added to the scheme. In most of the case studies used in the seminar men slightly more than women, but both, proved to be very "practical" about such matters as giving the edge to males at work, because this would probably work better for the organization. The survey results were rarely very far from the decisions that these students could make and could justify. And the dialectic? Old news tends to be about barriers to starting such a journey. I will try to define bad news a little differently.

Bad news. The distinction between bad news and old news is mine and it is arbitrary. I view bad news as the situation in which an individual is in the dialectic but in the process of dropping out or is a likely candidate for the dialectic but eschews the process. In short, bad news refers, as I see this, to individuals who can imagine the dialectic of Figure One, who are not frightened by their attraction to it, but who get side-tracked by a competing value or set of values. I will even go so far as to guess that in many cases choices made by such persons are made more freely than in the context of "old news." The three cases that follow illustrate that possibility, even the third one, because the speaker in this story could have chosen a different approach without any fear of "punishment" (I know, because we talked about this); and the audience could have responded with some questions that might have put the experience in an altogether different light.

Case one: This took place last semester in a course I teach, PUBA 284: Personnel and Human Resources. The subject was equal employment opportunity and the class project at the time was developing a definition for equal employment opportunity from which we could prepare a workable public policy. The exercise was done in groups. The most adamant of these was dominated by two women, both with significant out-of-college work experience. These two women vied between each other for spokes-personship and authorship of the definition that equal opportunity in employment

means "no discrimination of any kind--period!" When questioned about even the mildest forms of compensatory treatment, the two women rejected these. Anything "short" or "long"of their definition violated what both had internalized as "fair play." But more than anything else, both of these women worried that even small beginnings towards "affirmative action" might put some women in situations from which they might be judged less competent than men. When the possibility of male incompetence was raised it was set aside as something else, not the failure of their definition but those charged with teaching this and enforcing this. A small incident, no doubt, but more revealing perhaps than I have presented it: both of these women are very upwardly mobile; both are good students, one has a 4.0 average; both I have had in class before and, therefore, both have been exposed to feminism as a potentially attractive concept; one of them was a student the previous semester in PUBA 333: Women and Men in Organization, in which EEO had been explored rather thoroughly. Both of these women are politically conservative. Although they are "awakened" about gender issues, in more than just this instance they have weighed conservatism against a feminist value and have opted for the former and were pleased, so it appeared, with their choice.

Case two: This is perhaps even more impressionistic than the previous incident: in fact it is my distillation of several incidents last semester learning with a class of 16 women about women in organization. At the beginning of the semester the students may have tipped their collective hand. When asked what they wanted out of the course, the apparent common denominator of their concern was "ways to beat the system." Fine. At least they saw some practical application for the course,a rare experience these days in college teaching. In this instance a golden opportunity, thought I, to raise individual and group consciousness. But each time we seemed to get close to this there was either a subtle backing off or a very direct attempt to separate themselves (as on-the-way-up-the-ladder-folks) from women whom they perceived as having the same opportunities as they, but not taking advantage of the already evolved, brave new world. Sisterhood was too far out for them to comprehend and perhaps I was the wrong person to propose this as a possible alternative. (25) Each case study we worked out seemed to support their obvious conclusion: the women in the cases just didn't know how to protect themselves, didn't know the right combination for success. Explanations were individualized, rarely systemic. Solutions were personalized, rarely collectivized. At the end of the semester, almost all were where they began--searching for their own "salvation," but on the other gender's terms. (26)

Case three: This was on Careers Day sponsored by the students of our business department. I attended a session addressed by a women representing one of the large multinational corporations headquartered nearby in Pittsburgh. Her subject was women in management. She was sincere in her hopes for those present in the room, over fifty young women, not a male in sight except for me. In fact before we got started I asked one of the students why she thought there were no male students present and she replied: "My girl friend and I were walking over to the workshop with one of our male friends. We asked him to join us, but he just laughed." That's not the point. He did not have to be there. The speaker was there to represent him and the network that will nurture and protect him whenever it can do so without getting into trouble doing so. Among the many tidbits passed along to the eager women was the so-called "bottom line" advice (her cliche, not mine). The speaker's prescription for success was relatively simple and fabulously revealing. It was also not only unquestioned by those present, but even well received. The speaker suggested strongly that if these women wanted to succeed they would have to learn all they could about pro football, watch as many games as they could, learn the teams, the language, the players. And their learning better be sincere, "because men can spot a phoney here." Echoes of Harragan's "Games Mother Never Taught You"--to which I am tempted to respond: "thank heavens for wise mothers." It is not ignorance that feminine feminists may be protecting, but possibly a better vision of the future than "making it," as a macho concept. (27) Incidentally, the audience loved the speaker and her speech!

Good news. And you knew why, all along, that this was saved for last. At its

most macro conceptualization, just about all good news concerning the struggle for gender equality can be connected directly to the existence of feminists, feminism, and the concept of sisterhood. My small piece of good news is no exception. Back to old news and the three-class-period section I presented to the senior seminar in management. In one of the sessions I organized the groups so that two of these, in the problem exercise each would include one female and four male students. I also selected two students to report on the behavior of the groups without any more instructions than that, no clues about what to look for. At the close of the exercise, before I called for group reports, I asked the observers to talk about anything they thought worth sharing with the class. What they shared was that in one if the groups structured with a solo women the one female made no contribution and in the other group the solo woman took over, not without some pretty obvious commotion. So? And I was only mildly impressed by the observation until after class when Sue (her real first name) came forward to explain her demonstrated assertiveness. These are Sue's words, paraphrased as best I can from notes taken immediately after she told me her story:

> I don't participate much in classes, about as little in small groups. I probably would have been just as quiet as that other student (the other solo woman). But I read the article you gave us. I read it and I got pretty gosh-darned angry, mostly at myself. I have been deferring to others, males almost always. I read that article a second time and decided that the next day in class I wouldn't take second place just because I am a woman. It was tough. It wasn't me. I yelled, I know that. But I liked the results. I liked what happened. How about that!

The article Sue referred to was "The Solo Woman in a Professional Peer Group." (28) It was written by two feminists and the last paragraph of their article motivated Sue to change the hardest part of a person to change--behavior. That last paragraph laid the situation described pretty much on the line. For many women the solo woman circumstance is often a no-win proposition. No matter, the feminist authors argued, there is still some avenue open to the frustrated solo woman. In their case it was, they concluded, doing this research and getting this article published. Now other solo women could benefit from this, someone like Sue who had no premonition whatsoever that she would be tapped to be the main actor in a small drama that might even be written up somewhere as "good news."

Conclusion

I am tempted to ask which one? Good news, bad news, or old news? I am not sure that the distinction is as clear as this discussion has tried to make it out to be. But we are all participants in the good news, the bad news, and the old news concerning Feminism. We participate whether we like to or not, whether we think we do or not, or whether others think we do or not. That is what makes feminism more sophisticated than it seems at first or second or even third glance. If the hierarchy of elements of emergent feminism makes any sense then there are levels of this phenomenon as well as stages within those levels. As more individuals attempt the journey through the dialectic, there is the chance for more confusion rather than less. In time, it may be easier to guess at who is not a feminist than what kind of a feminist one is when one proclaims oneself to be a feminist. For some individuals that is a big problem. The temptation is to weigh the value of your feminism against mine, to measure both for purity and/or flaws. I am not sure that this will "work"--either for individuals or for something as fragile as a "collectivity." Feminism is, in many ways, perhaps the most important ways, a lived experience. No two experiences are alike, no matter how we load the deck to try to achieve this.

Feminism may be a concept that is too sophisticated for most traditional college students to grasp. But those of us who interact regularly with such students ought to accept that challenge as a significant part of our vocation. We have been tapped, most of us, although we are not always too sure what this means or what we should do.

Well, as someone did say or should have said: "Be creative."

NOTES:

1. For an excellent account of the different political persuasions of feminism that also explains the potential of mainstream feminism for radicalism, see: Zillah R. Eisenstein, The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism (New York: Longman, 1981). See especially this author's "feminist political spectrum." p. 230.

2. Judith Hole and Ellen Levine, Rebirth of Feminism (New York: Quadrangle, 1971), p. 184. For a good definition of oppression, see: Claire Knoche Fulenwider, Feminism in American Politics: A Study of Ideological Influence (New York: Praeger, 1980), p. 36. Fulenwider writes: "Oppression, on the other hand, is persistent and systematic exclusion of persons from the opportunities and experiences available to others."

3. See: Herbert Blumer, "Sociological Implications of the Thought of George Herbert Mead, "American Journal of Sociology, 71 (March, 1966), p. 542 on viewing the world from the actor's perspective.

4. The existential approach to feminism--the connection between Sartre and Beauvoir--and its influence on contemporary feminist ideology is examined in detail in: Judith A. Sabrosky, The Evolution of Feminist Ideology (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1979), pp. 110-125.

5. Kathy E. Ferguson, Self, Society, and Womankind: The Dialectic of Liberation (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 1980), pp. 25-26.

6. Ibid., p. 57.

7. Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex, translated and edited by H. M. Parshley (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. xx, p. 680, and elsewhere.

8. But not without criticism from some individuals who identify themselves as pro-feminists, yet see such terminology as much too "threathening."

9. See: Anthony Downs, "Up and Down With Ecology: The 'Issue Attention Cycle,' "The Public Interest, 28(summer 1972), pp. 38-50 on the competition among issues for our attention and the resulting overload with some crucial issues losing their "place" on the agenda.

10. Betty Friedan, It Changed My Life: Writings on the Women's Movement (New York: Random House, 1976), p. 375, quotes the Spokeswoman, December 15, 1975.

11. Hole and Levine, Rebirth, pp. 228-242, examine three vicious anti-feminist forms of propaganda: ridicule, accusations of deviance, and baiting; pp. 194-197 covers the concept of an enemy with outposts in one's head. See: Sheila Rowbotham, Women's Consciousness, Man's World (New York: Penguin, 1973), p. 73 on a similar concept--"cultural colonization."

12. Keith E. Melder, Beginnings of Sisterhood: The American Woman's Rights

Movement, 1800-1850 (New York: Schocken, 1977), Chap. 1 "Her Appropriate Sphere," explains this nineteenth century ideology designed for women--to resolve their doubts and order their lives.

13. de Beauvoir, Second Sex.

14. Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique (New York: Norton, 1963)

15. For a poignant, perceptive, and often disturbing study of this phenomenon, see: Ellen Peck, A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to Equality (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975). Among Peck's case studies, only one woman "manages" the problem of costs in the feminist equation.

16. Ann Belford Ulanov. Receiving Woman: Studies in the Psychology and Theology of Feminism (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), pp. 38-44, deplores what she refers to as "obsessive politicization" that can turn women against women. In her words: "The myth of sisterhood collapses. Any woman not holding precisely the same views is rejected and cast out."

17. Lindsy Van Gelder "Burn-Out: What Happens when the World Won't Change," Ms. X (May, 1982), pp. 60, 62, 84.

18. Ibid.

19. Vivian Gornick, Essays in Feminism (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), p. 48.

20. Ibid., p. 149.

21. My caveat is that I am not all that certain that, at this time, I understand most of the important connections. This essay is, in a large measure, a trial balloon sent up with the hope that someone may help me discover: 1) important connections I have overlooked or 2) the possibility that any connections projected may be at best tenous, at worst not very useful.

22. Kate Millet, Sexual Politics (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), p. 58.

23. Ibid., pp. 23-26. This gender-based relationship is the core of what Millet defines as "sexual politics."

24. See: Catherine A. Mackinnon,"Women's Work" in Sexuality in Organizations, edited by Dail Ann Neugarten and Jay M. Shafritz (Oak Park, Il: Moore, 1980), pp.59-66, in which the author outlines the three conditions of women's work: horizontal segregation, vertical stratification, and income inequality. According to Mackinnon, only about five percent of all women workers occupy managerial or administrative jobs.

25. Hole and Levine, Rebirth, p. 226-227 contend that women have no history of thinking of themselves as a group.

26. Carol A. Whitehurst, Women in America: The Oppressed Majority (Santa Monica: Goodyear, 1977), p. 100 writes about the internationalization of the achievement values of the American society, with the effect that women may share the core values of equality and achievement, but that "these values may be reinterpreted for them."

27. Ellen Cantarow et al., "I Am Furious (Female)," in Roles Women Play: Readings Toward Women's Liberation, edited by Michele Hoffnung Garskof (Belmont, CA: Brook/Cole, 1971), p. 190, explore co-operation through "getting ahead," but on the system's terms.

28. Carol S. Wolman and Harold H. Frank, "The Solo Woman in a Professional Peer Group," in Women in the Organization, edited by Harold H. Frank (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), pp. 246-255.

Sample conference session

Feminist issues and feminist attitudes: teaching today's students.

Paula S. Rothenberg.

Women students of the 1980s approach feminist issues with a variety of attitudes as these three papers show. In contrast to their angry sisters of ten years ago or their quieter and more traditional sisters of twenty or more years ago, today's female students appear to approach themselves and their future with a strong sense of their own ability to succeed.

Gormley's study indicates significant changes in the way women (and men) view women. Women of the 80s are perceived as more ambitious, astute, energetic, likeable, reliable, etc., than their counterparts ten years ago. The study by Gittings and Wilson suggests that women have enormously positive expectations about their ability to combine a career with marriage and children because they have a vision of the family which includes a surprisingly egalitarian apportionment of duties and responsibilities. This change in self-perception and their change in expectations is surely an indication of the impact the women's movement of the past decade has had on people's consciousness.

And yet, the results of these studies leave me uneasy. Have we really managed to turn around the sex-role conditioning of hundreds of years in one short decade? Has patriarchy yielded its privilege without even a struggle? What will those young women (and men) find in a few short years when they leave college and begin their "real" lives as workers and parents?

The fact that so many women who hold "feminist views" on questions of equal pay, a woman's right to choose (abortion), the need for community child care, and others, while refusing to define themselves as feminists should give us considerable concern. Does their rejection of the title "feminist" combined with the views and self-perception they embrace indicate, as they tell us, that women's oppression is a part of history, or does it reveal that they have not gone through the stages of developing awareness that Cohen describes in his paper, stages which are critical for actually developing a feminist consciousness? I fear this latter is true. I fear their new found sense of self and belief in the possibilities of an egalitarian life has been sold to them by the "liberated women" and "liberated marriage" that advertising and TV sit-coms have created as a vehicle for selling perfume, pantyhose, and frozen dinners. They accept this package because their life experience and, for the most part, their education has not yet opened their eyes to the cruelties of discrimination and oppression that are everywhere in contemporary America.

Without a war in Vietnam, a radical women's liberation movement, and a militant civil rights movement to promote a critical perspective on the role on race, class and gender in American society, contemporary college students are probably living through the time in their lives when they are most likely to have the strongest reasons to believe in their own ability to succeed and believe that they live in a free and democratic society where hard work brings success. Not only that, without the pressures of marriage, jobs and children, men and women in college experience an atypical sense of equality and comraderie that hardly provides them with a basis for critiquing male-female relationships in the culture at large. Of course, "feminism" seems to them to be either an historical anomaly or the strident demands of an unreasonable minority. No wonder they feel good about themselves and the prospects for their future.

Some argue that this newly positive self-image and set of expectations is good. That it will send today's college women off better prepared (emotionally) to fight the

battles that wait them than previous generations. But I'm not sure. Because these expectations act as blinders that prevent them from developing a feminist perspective, I'm afraid that when these women begin to fail in achieving their goals, personal and career, they will be more likely than ever before, to blame themselves and not the system. Since the need to crusade for women's rights is passed, since the battles have already been won, they will view their own failure as indicative of personal weakness or personal inability and end up once again "blaming the victim."

To the extent that this analysis is correct, what can those of us who teach Women's Studies do now to help our students develop a feminist perspective or to plant the seeds that will sprout late so that they understand their future experiences in terms of the force of the sexist and racist discrimination and ideology central to capitalism rather than individual inadequacy? First, I think we must steer away from the traditional Women's movement attack on marriage and the family, at least at the start. It's a critique that must surely be made, but it's not a good place to begin. Probably the most dramatic information which can be used to initiate a process of critical questioning is information about the economics of race, class and gender in contemporary America. Students must be forced to compare their own job expectations with the reality of the continued sex-segregation of the workforce and their salary expectations with the sobering statistics that tell us how much women actually earn and which make it painfully clear that we are light years away from either equal pay for equal work or an objective criteria for deciding what is comparable work in the first place. Issues relating to marriage, the family and childcare can often be broached most successfully by urging the men in the class to share their expectations. It's predictable that some, probably many, will offer the thought that their wives should be free to work as long as they take care of the home as well. It usually takes no more than a little probing to find that many male college students are horrified at the prospect of their wives working while the children are young and that they have no plans to do more than "help out" around the house. Meaning of course, is that they still define home and children as women's primary responsibility. The message that I try to offer my Women's Studies students is that at best, the Women's Movement as repackaged and redefined by the media, has given today's women the right to do it all - somehow be a super-slick career woman, impeccably dressed and incredibly well-paid, at the same time as she bakes cookies for her children, prepares gourmet (candlelight) dinners for her husband, and then accompanies him to bed looking and acting like the ultimate mistress of his fantasies. At best, women have won the right to be SUPER WOMEN and if they fail at that, the obligation to acknowledge that they had a chance to have it all but blew it and have no one but themselves to blame.

Changes in the way men and women view themselves and each other: 1971 to 1981.

John Gormly and Anne Gormly.

We conducted surveys on personality descriptions in 1971 and again in 1981 in order to document changes in the personalities of people who lived during this decade of rapid cultural change.

The 70ies ushered in a heightened awareness of the economic and social conditions affecting women with the women's liberation movement. During this period, changes in the cultural acceptance and definition of social roles for men and women resulted in definite shifts in behavior for women, particularly. An increase in the number of women with small children in the work force since the 1970 census and the acceptance of women in predominantly male occupations are two examples of these shifts.

Publicity of the actions of government leaders in continuing our involvement in the war in Viet Nam and political scandals like Watergate affected the trust of the people toward government during the decade. Run away inflation and an increasing number of unemployed made people more fearful of their economic well-being. The rising rate of divorce contributed to a sense of insecurity. The ever-present computer and other technological changes insured for many people a doubting of their competence for living in the world of tomorrow. FUTURE SHOCK is continuing and probably accelerating.

While dramatic changes were occurring in people's view of government, economic security, technology, and relationships between the sexes, there was a quieter but definite change in the way the field of psychology affected people. Assertiveness training, consciousness raising groups, EST, marriage encounters, Parent Effectiveness Training, and scores of books on self-help have shaped a culture with an increasing emphasis on people viewing themselves and others as psychological beings. EST, for example, Werner Erhard's four-day intensive seminar on self-awareness, emerged in 1971 with fewer than 50 people "doing the training." Today, more than 350,000 Americans, or one in every 800, has taken the EST training.

Although relating particular changes in the culture to particular changes in the way people view themselves and the personalities of others is beyond this survey, we were interested in discovering the changes that have occured and relating them to broad social movements. Such changes are interesting in their own right, and they could lead to further research on the specific relationships between culture and personality.

During the early 1970ies, we collected data from college students on the personality traits they used to describe themselves and their peers. The same procedures were used on a comparable sample of college students ten years later.

The changes were striking; we observed a substantial improvement in the self-image of women and a decline in the self-image of men. In 1981, many more women described themselves as Likable. Similarly, more women described themselves as Honest and Reliable compared to the self-descriptions of the 1971 sample of women, and, now, fewer women describe themselves as Insecure, Uncertain of their Self-Worth.

The changes in self-descriptions by men were just the opposite. More men today describe themselves as Insecure, and fewer men today describe themselves as Likable, Honest and Reliable than did the men a decade earlier. The percentages of people involved in these changes are given in Table 1, along with the results for other changes in self-descriptions.

How the survey was done.

We compiled the list of personal characteristics included in the survey by finding the trait-names described in review chapters on personality research. We reduced the number of trait-names in our survey to forty by eliminating terms which were obvious synonyms. We then examined the adequacy of these terms for describing peers of college students.

One hundred college students wrote the first names of ten men and ten women they knew who were about the same age as they were. Then, they were asked to write next to each name a personality trait that was characteristic of that person. Lastly, they were given our list of 40 trait-names to see if they could find a trait in our list which they considered equivalent to the ones they had used. Of the two thousand people described, 97 per cent were described with words for which the raters said we had an equivalent trait-name. The other three per cent were mostly described with terms that designated some form of emotional-behavioral disturbance. We did not want to include terms that involved psychiatric states, and we were satisfied that the original 40 trait-names were sufficient for the survey.

In 1971 and again in 1981 we collected ratings from comparable samples of men and women. All of the subjects were college students enrolled in an East Coast university. In the 1971 sample, 310 people completed the survey, 205 men and 105 women. They rated themselves and six peers; therefore, there were 2170 ratings. The 1981 study had 889 ratings of people completed by 60 men and 67 women. Both groups were given identical tasks.

The people were asked to write the first-names of ten peers who were the same gender as they and ten peers who were of the other gender. They were instructed to include people they knew fairly well and to include names of people they tended to like and people they tended not to like. When the lists were completed, each participant was given three positions on the list of names and asked to rate only those people in the designated positions and to rate themselves. The positions were assigned throughout the testing in a way that all ten positions on the lists of names were sampled. The responder was asked to decide whether or not the trait was a characteristic of the person being rated in a simple YES or NO format.

For the purpose of simplifying the presentation of the results, we have limited to 12 the number of traits described in this report. These 12 traits, listed in Table 1, were selected after statistical tests (factor analyses) showed them to be representative of the results from the forty personality traits used in the survey.

To assess changes that occurred during the decade, we separated the ratings into male and female ratings of self, same-sex peers, and other-sex peers for 1971 and 1981.

SEX DIFFERENCES IN SELF-DESCRIPTIONS

As mentioned earlier, women in 1981 describe a more favorable image of themselves than women in 1971, while the opposite is true for men. We can see this from the changes in self-ratings for traits like insecure, honest, reliable, and likable. Women have experienced an increase in self-esteem, and men have experienced a decrease. The impact of these changes in self-image can be seen in the way people describe their relations with others. There was a significant correlation between rating oneself as Likable and rating oneself as Socially Outgoing in the data from both men and women. We believe that this association is describing a causal relationship. When people have a favorable image of themselves, they are more likely to be outgoing with others; when people see themselves as less desirable, they are less likely to be

comfortable with others, less likely to be socially outgoing.

Twenty-five per cent more of the women in 1981 described themselves as Socially Outgoing when compared to women responders in the 1971 survey, bringing the per cent of women who view themselves as Socially Outgoing up to 74 per cent; this increase co-occurs with a rise in self-image. During this period, there was a decrease in the number of men who described themselves as Socially Outgoing; this decrease co-occurs with a decrease in their self-image. Now, approximately twice as many women describe themselves as Socially Outgoing compared to men.

Increased concerns with economic issues are reflected in the survey. Both men and women had increases in self-descriptions of Ambitious, with women having the larger increase. More people described themselves as Astute in Practical Matters, a 16 per cent increase for women and a 28 per cent increase for men. This pattern was continued for ratings of Conservative, both men and women increased their use of the trait Conservative in describing themselves, with men showing the larger increase. Similarly, men had a larger increase than women in self-ratings of Assertive, a seven per cent increase for women and a 15 per cent increase for men. It is noteworthy that half of the male and female participants said they were characteristically Anxious, up from an already high per cent in 1971.

Men have had an interesting change in a set of self-perceptions. They see themselves as less honest, less reliable, less likable, less socially outgoing, more anxious, more insecure, more assertive, more ambitious, more conservative, and more astute in practical matters. We are not prepared to venture a guess about the specific impact of these changes on the personal and social well-being of men and those who interact with them, but they do not seem to be healthy changes, and they do warrant further investigation.

Changes in women would seem to herald a success for the women's movement of the 1970ies. Women describe themselves in terms that indicate an improved self-concept and more direct involvement with the social and economic world.

We guess that more miles were jogged in the 1970ies than ever before in human history. The re-orientation of people toward physical fitness is reflected in the survey by large increases for men and women in self-description of Energetic.

The stereotypes of a weak, dependent female and a tough, assured male are not supported by the self-descriptions of the responders. In the 1981 survey, most women decribed themselves as Ambitious, Astute in Practical Matters, Energetic, and Uninhibited, and men were as likely as women to report themselves to be characteristically Anxious and Insecure.

CHANGES IN DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PERSONALITIES OF OTHERS

During the period of this research, notable differences emerged in the way men and women viewed other people. In our analysis of the changes in trait attribution over the 10 year period, we looked at the ratings of women by both men and women and the ratings of men by both men and women. The findings are reported below.

Ratings of Women by Men and Women: 1971-1981

The largest change in descriptions of women by others was found in ratings of Ambitious. There was a twenty per cent increase from 1971 to 1981 in the number of women who were rated as Ambitious. This twenty per cent increase occurred in ratings of women by both male and female respondents. These changes are consistent with the changes in self-ratings by women for this characteristic. More women described themselves as Ambitious, however, than were described as such by male or female raters.

Both groups of respondents in 1981 described more women as Astute in Practical Matters than did the raters in the earlier survey. These changes are also consistent with the changes in self-descriptions as Astute. The greatest change occurred in the men's perception of women's Astuteness in Practical Matters. In fact, men now describe more women as Astute than do women respondents, which reverses the situation for 1971 ratings. Then women saw other women as Astute more often than did men.

Another reversal occurred for ratings of Anxious. In 1971 men rated fewer women as characteristically Anxious than did women-raters. Again, both men and women raters in the 1981 survey indicated more of the women to be characteristically Anxious than was the case for women rated in 1971.

Both men and women raters increased the number of women described as Assertive, Energetic, Honest, Reliable, Socially Outgoing, and Uninhibited in the more recent survey. The results are presented in Table 2.

The general tone of these results is that women are perceived as more competent and more independent. These changes parallel the changes that occurred in women's descriptions of themselves. We were interested in whether a perception of increased competence and independence would result in women being liked better by other women and men. Recall that in women's self-ratings, substantially more women in 1981 described themselves as Likable.

Both male and female raters in 1981 described more women as Likable. It is noteworthy that men rated more women as Likable in both 1971 and 1981 surveys than did women respondents.

We examined which characteristics were most associated with seeing a woman as Likable. Men tended to describe women as Likable when they also described women as Energetic ($r=.37$) and Socially Outgoing ($r=.30$). Women tended to describe other women as Likable when they also described them as Honest ($r=.43$) and Socially Outgoing ($r=.34$). The values in the parentheses are correlations between ratings for Likable and the other traits. Thus, both men and women associate the likability of other women with the women being socially outgoing, but the two groups of raters differ in the characteristic they most associate with likability in women, with Energetic for men raters and Honest for women raters.

Ratings of Men by Men and Women: 1971-1981

The largest change in descriptions of men was found in ratings of Ambitious, with a sizeable increase from 1971-1981 from both male and female raters. Other substantial increases were found for ratings of Astute in Practical Matters, Assertive, and Energetic. These increases were consistent with self-ratings for these personal characteristics. Some of the declines found in the self-descriptions of men were not present in the ratings of men by male and female respondents. Although fewer men rated themselves as Honest, Likable, Reliable, and Socially Outgoing, ratings of men by both male and female respondents showed increases for these four traits. We take these inconsistencies between men's perceptions of themselves and how they are perceived by others to indicate that during the decade men have suffered a loss in their self-image which is generally not recognized by others. Forty-three per cent of the men in the 1981 survey reported themselves to be Insecure, the highest rating for this characteristic. It becomes even more interesting when you note that although men have increased in their self-descriptions of Insecure, they have described fewer other men to be Insecure in 1981 than in 1971. We believe this discrepancy has contributed to men's increased isolation, as indicated by the substantial decline in the number of men who describe themselves as Socially Outgoing. The results of these surveys indicate a need for a social movement to improve men's images of themselves.

More men were rated as Likable in 1981 by both groups of raters. Women raters

described more men as Likable than did men raters. Again, we were interested in characteristics that were associated with men being perceived as Likable. Men tended to rate other men as Likable when they also rated them as Reliable (r=.31) and Energetic (r=.30). Women tended to rate men as Likable when they also rated them as Honest (r=.33). Thus, the characteristic of being Socially Outgoing, which was associated with raters seeing women as Likable, does not seem to be involved with men being seen as Likable. The male respondents, however, associate Energetic with being Likable for both men and women they described, and the female respondents associate Honest with being Likable for both men and women they described.

CONCLUSIONS

A general difference between the participants of the two surveys can be seen in the number of personality-trait terms used by people to describe themselves and others. There has been an increase in trait attributions for all groups being described. We take this to be a consequence of living in a society that is increasing its focus on psychological factors.

The women's liberation movement appears to have helped women to be more independent, assertive, competent, to see themselves as more likable, and to be seen as more likable by others. The economic troubles of recent years have been matched by increases in the practical concerns of people: more ambitious, more conservative, more astute. We notice that modern economic problems, which naturally means more competition among people for jobs and resources, has not resulted in people liking other people less. People in the 1981 survey do report themselves to be more anxious, however.

Our data do reveal a glaring social problem, the decline in the image young men have of themselves. While we do not know what specific aspects of cultural change have produced the effect, our survey indicates that "consciousness raising" does yield a positive result. Now may be the time to have a social movement aimed at improving the psychological well-being of men.

TABLE I

Percent of Respondents Who Said the Trait Was Characteristic of Themselves

Trait	Women		Men	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
Ambitious	64%	79%	50%	67%
Anxious	44%	52%	43%	46%
Assertive	32%	39%	34%	49%
Astute in Practical Matters	37%	53%	39%	67%
Conservative	23%	30%	23%	44%
Energetic	55%	67%	58%	80%
Honest	85%	89%	91%	79%
Insecure	44%	33%	38%	43%
Likable	61%	79%	71%	69%
Reliable	77%	82%	81%	66%
Socially Outgoing	49%	74%	43%	38%
Uninhibited	30%	52%	25%	30%

TABLE II

Percent of Respondents Who Said the Trait Was Characteristic of Women they Knew

Trait	Women		Men	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
Ambitious	44%	64%	35%	55%
Anxious	33%	35%	26%	36%
Assertive	35%	39%	22%	28%
Astute in Practical Matters	34%	41%	25%	44%
Conservative	34%	28%	30%	30%
Energetic	43%	57%	54%	60%
Honest	65%	75%	62%	64%
Insecure	31%	27%	27%	28%
Likable	59%	66%	67%	76%
Reliable	50%	59%	46%	51%
Socially Outgoing	55%	67%	61%	69%
Uninhibited	37%	48%	38%	47%

TABLE III

Percent of Respondents Who Said the Trait Was Characteristic of Men They Knew

Trait	Women		Men	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
Ambitious	35%	55%	41%	59%
Anxious	26%	36%	25%	23%
Assertive	22%	28%	28%	42%
Astute in Practical Matters	25%	44%	36%	48%
Conservative	30%	30%	33%	30%
Energetic	54%	60%	49%	72%
Honest	62%	64%	62%	63%
Insecure	27%	28%	27%	22%
Likable	67%	76%	62%	70%
Reliable	46%	51%	53%	50%
Socially Outgoing	61%	69%	50%	65%
Uninhibited	38%	47%	38%	40%